

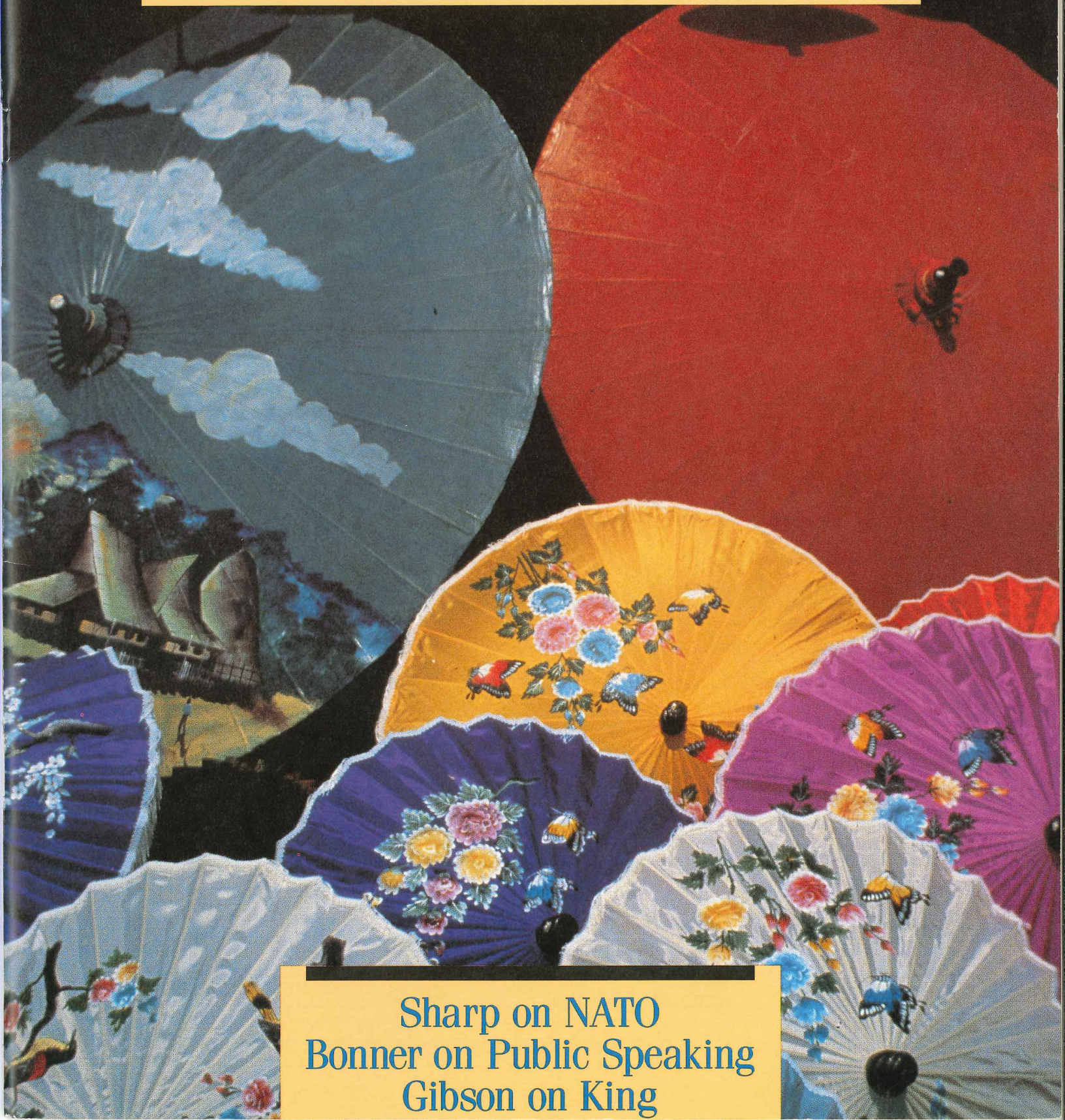
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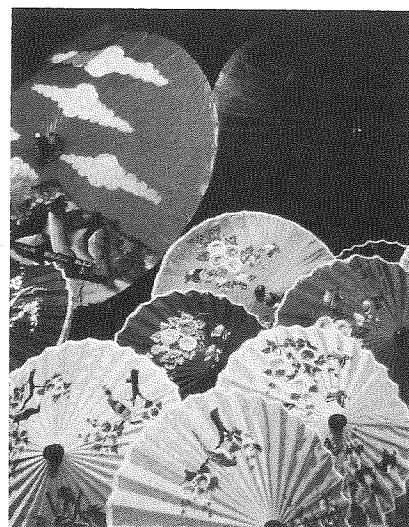
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Our cover photo this issue, by Liza Linklater, is of umbrellas made in Bor Sang, east of Chiang Mai, Thailand.

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Communications

A few months ago, the executive of PAFSO swapped the normally-hurried week-day lunch for the expansive luxury of an all-day Saturday meeting. It was a strategy session, designed to reflect on what the organization was doing, where it needed to go in the future, and what it would take in order to get it from A to B. It was the type of think-in that needs to be held more often, preferably with the membership participating. One dominant theme was the need for better communications. The debate has continued at the executive and among the membership.

The nub of the problem, in essence, is two dimensional. On the one hand, there is a dearth of communication between the association and the management of External Affairs, and the vacuum tends to exacerbate problems and to harden positions before talks are joined. On the other side, there is a lamentable lack of information to the membership about what PAFSO is doing for its members on an immediate, day-to-day basis, how it is responding to increasingly serious concerns, and what results it can show for its efforts.

Let's take the members' concerns first. After four or five years of gradually-evolving communications strategies, we seem to have resigned ourselves to living with a difficult situation. Our problems are obviously more severe than domestic associations, who do not labour with the problems of far-flung operations and whose domestic constituents can communicate easily and cheaply. **bout** plays a part, as it should. But with a lead time of two months between composition and printing, our news is stale by the time it gets to its intended audience.

But a couple of prospects have now been identified for the more soluble problems confronting us. First, we need to communicate rapidly with members on items of urgency. For that, we have argued successfully for use of the Departmental telex system, and the solution seems to have worked, most recently in the case of a telegram on lateral entries into the Trade Commissioner Service, which went out in May. Successful court action has reinforced our claims to a system that functions well on an immediate basis.

Second, we need more regular, constant information on the inner workings of PAFSO — the activities of the executive committee, the sub-committees, negotiations, joint working groups, the professional committee and the rest. An impressive machinery built up over past years has been relegated to virtual anonymity by our collective inability to communicate its results. To remedy this critical deficiency the executive

committee has recently authorized the creation (or the resuscitation, depending on your point of view) of a new communications vehicle, to be issued four times per year as an insert to **bout de papier** and at other times per year as the communications load demands. To the veterans it will resemble **bout de papier** of earlier days, cheap, basic and readable. It will become the standard-bearer of purely association news, and will convey on a timelier basis the inner workings of the organization.

After addressing the urgent needs, timely reporting and those longer-term professional concerns which are the essence of **bout de papier** itself, what more is needed? For one, we need two-way communications within our organization. We need regular meetings, perhaps monthly in a central location, where the executive can appear before the membership and discuss the issues currently on the table. Across a range of concerns, from negotiating the FSDs to the forthcoming salary strategy, the views of the members merit greater weight. The gradual democratization of the association over the past two or three years is a trend which is hard to resist. The doctrine of accountability now needs to be pushed to the logical next stage.

The communications gap between PAFSO and management is at once simpler and more complex. Constant contact, or life in the same environment, or living under the same foreign service system, should stimulate some sense of mutual understanding. But as the lateral entry episode demonstrated, we continue to live in restricted space, in relative isolation. Poor relations have been exacerbated by low morale and intractable budgetary difficulties, compounded by a frustrating sense that senior management isn't coming clean. We don't know about the battles fought with Treasury Board. We can't find out about the secretarial shortages or the recruitment freezes. Frank exchanges have been replaced by platitudes, to the satisfaction of neither side.

Part of the problem has been a reluctance on the management side to admit to the problem, or, as a corollary, to admit the validity of PAFSO as an interlocutor. Some among senior managers argue the case for a "corporate" style, wherein the need to consult would be met through meetings with smaller groups of members with special interests, and where the consultations could be conducted privately, quietly, on isolated, individual issues. The advantages are obvious... from the management side. There would be no broad picture, no linkages among issues, no comparison of results. And no publicity.

There is a place for special interests, or

special consultative techniques, and we would be the last to argue against the merits of quiet diplomacy. Nor would PAFSO want to contend that it had exclusive proprietary rights over the hearts and minds of its membership. But it is hard to deny the logic of a relatively simple consultative system, involving the obvious players, the PAFSO executive and senior management.

And to the credit of both PAFSO and management, a start has been made. In response to a letter from John Lobsinger detailing a long list of items on which consultation and contact were desirable, a meeting took place on April 21, 1988 between the association side and Departmental management. Views were aired. Grievances came out. Suspicions were voiced in quiet, diplomatic tones. It's much too early to judge whether a regularization of these sessions is one way to go. On some issues, such as patronage, the problem is beyond management control, and the meetings would be wasted on such items. But on issues like lateral transfers, streaming, FS re-structuring and a myriad of other questions at the core of the foreign service, it would be an ideal way of putting views across.

What of the other communications issues? What about PAFSO and its cultivation of the media? Or within the Department, in communicating on issues such as over-time pay, where confusion is rampant in headquarters and probably doubly so abroad. Part of our problem is the sheer magnitude of the tasks ahead, compared to the numbers available to do the work. As John Lobsinger pointed out in our last issue, PAFSO for its part is a voluntary organization. We depend for the bulk of our output on volunteers from among our members or their spouses. There are limits to what we can do, and there is always a large gap between what we would like to do and what we can do.

In short, the battle is half-won and the prospects for victory are bright. **bout de papier** will continue as the professional voice of the Canadian foreign service, communicating to a wide readership on items of varied interest. It will have as a new ally a fresh communications vehicle, yet to be baptized, to speak to the more direct and timely concerns of members at large. My chair as editor of this august journal will pass shortly to Barbara Martin, who will inherit the fresh faces and new enthusiasms of an editorial board assembled over the past year and more. As I leave the editor's chair, I wish her success in implementing impressive plans for ensuring the future of **bout de papier** and meeting the communications needs of the members at large.

by Dan Livermore



Members in Canada watching television on January 24 will almost certainly have tuned in to a late evening CTV interview of Minister Clark by Doug Fisher. For those of you who missed it, it was an interesting session touching, variously, on Central America, US relations, the Commonwealth and South Africa and, most interestingly from a PAFSO perspective, the matter of political appointments and their potential role in the foreign service.

In opening the issue, Fisher referred to PAFSO's concerns and to recent **bout de papier** coverage of the issue. Although he noted that the foreign service has traditionally been a takeoff point for distinguished careers elsewhere in government — implying, presumably, that foreign service officers benefit from this — he correctly understood that our concern on political appointments was with the major increase in the numbers of such appointments. He also posed a wider public concern with what he referred to as the “sleeze” in some appointments.

Minister Clark responded positively and creatively to the questions, reflecting a very good understanding of our professional aspirations and of the particular concerns which PAFSO had expressed on the relative numbers of appointments and the need for representation of the highest quality overseas. He had worthwhile things to say about the value of a politician's perspective in diplomacy and about his own experience in running the Department relative to the well publicized experiences of Flora MacDonald and Howard Green. Mr. Clark was particularly interesting in responding to Fisher's

point about the quality of appointments, where, after questioning whether the point even applied to the appointments made to the foreign service, he expressed surprise at how little the new power to bring appointees before a parliamentary committee had been used.

All told, the issue occupied nearly one-third of the interview, which may give some measure of its continuing currency on the political scene. Obviously that currency derives from many aspects beyond those which PAFSO has raised in its earlier press releases and press conference. But we can also take some comfort from the fact that the issue, including our concerns, is still alive and in the public eye. We are coming into another posting season, and I think that we are all hopeful that the continuing strength of the issue will be a powerful encouragement to the Government to take a considered approach, one which recognizes our professional aspirations in the narrow, career sense and even more in the broader sense of ensuring the best leadership and Canadian representation overseas which can be obtained.

* * *

Turning to the more mundane, the issue of overtime in the foreign service seems to have been very quiet since the new contract was signed. The Executive pursued the issue in the last negotiations because of a widespread concern over the long, rewarding but unrewarded hours which the Department often seems to expect as routine. We accepted, in the end, an approach which is soft in comparison with most in the public service, out of respect for the often peculiar conditions in which we work and in the interest of achieving a system which would be implemented and not shelved. The new system is very flexible and the Department by all appearances is prepared to honour and live with it. What is required is that members — YOU — make the system work by discussing the matter with their managers and ensuring that their legitimate efforts are recognized. The responsibility and the rewards lie with you — we hope that you are exercising and receiving them.

* * *

PAFSO has done very well the past several years in respect of grievances carried through to the arbitration level. Most recently, you will all have received our notice that full payment of the dental plan by the employer is to be implemented as a result of a legal action against the Treasury Board by the Professional Institute of the Public Service, supported by a number of unions and associations, PAFSO included. The decision

involved Treasury Board's failure to increase certain allowances — most notably for PAFSO members the bilingualism bonus — during the 6 and 5 period in the early 1980's and is a significant one, since it involves both improvements to the plan and full payment in all future years. In another recent example, PAFSO succeeded in the Executive's joint grievance of the Department's failure to pay performance pay last April. That decision will not only set the tone for future negotiations but will also mean that while all members got back performance pay when the contract was settled, members overseas will eventually get backpay on the allowances which would have been paid on such performance pay for the period between April 1 and the October date of contract settlement. In about the same time period as the latter decision, a large number of members of the Aid Stream were receiving substantial cheques, averaging several thousand dollars, as the result of an arbitral award granting them performance pay which was not paid following their entry into the service in 1983.

There is an obvious satisfaction with these successes, in part because each success has meant a material gain for those affected and in part because most members, who feel vulnerable when doing something as obvious and public as filing a grievance, feel vindicated when they win. Beneath these surface reactions, there is also a sense of disappointment involved, because each grievance filed is a sign that our normal and preferred means of dealing with the Department have failed. There is in the foreign service a strong paternal sense, a sense that the Department will provide what is required and just and a sense that this will come automatically to those who serve well. The necessity to go to court to get what one is entitled to offends that sense of service and community.

Why should we have to fight to gain what our sense of service tells us we should be getting automatically? The answer is sometimes simple: whereas we tend to think of the Department as the source of all the elements governing or working lives, in fact much of what we get on the pay and benefits side comes from the Treasury Board. The Personnel Policy Branch at the Board are in a different world from our expectations of a professional service. They deal with all of the unions, with PAFSO as a tiny part of their overall mandate, are very conservative and rule-driven, particularly where money is involved, and have a finely honed sense of what will set a precedent for their overall responsibilities. The Department is also often responsible for decisions which lead us into grievances. The problem can be one of

rules which have been allowed to become out of date or out of touch with conditions. It can also be the result of individuals, who sometimes forget, or slip up or decide issues in ways which can only be considered as personal or capricious. Sometimes a decision seems to result from a fear of making hard choices and sometimes to reflect a concern for the rules rather than for the people affected by them.

Whatever the cause, the net result is often that what seems fair to us may be viewed arbitrarily, capriciously or not at all. And if it is your ox which is being gored, you will have to decide whether you will take the chance of doing something about it. Do you do the unthinkable, by raising your head out of the mire and complaining, or do you follow tradition and take your lumps? The increasing answer in recent years has been to do the former, a trend which I believe should and does concern Departmental managers. It is too easy to believe that the trend is the result of a new generation of officers, with higher material expectations or a stronger tactical sense that a grievance will achieve more faster than a succession of elegantly drafted numbered letters. It is still easy, but somewhat more plausible that the problem lies in frustration, in the fact that hard times have reduced promotion rates and dashed career expectations.

The hardest explanation of all to accept is that the service itself may be in one of its occasional periods of crisis. Part of the argument for this is that foreign service terms and conditions are becoming out of synch with those of the larger Canadian society. The failure so far to meet the expectations or solve the problem of the working spouse and the dual income family is one important aspect of this. So too is the sense of many that foreign service wages no longer adequately reflect the professional effort and commitment of many in the service, even in comparison to other public service groups and much less in comparison to those outside the public service. There is an equal sense that the problem lies in the intangibles, in the job we do and in the conditions we do it under. For every member who is frustrated by slow rates of promotion, there are several who are concerned with what seem to be declining opportunities to do the serious analytical and policy work we all joined the service hoping to do. There seems a growing concern with management and professional standards in the Department and a frustration with spending long hours on often ephemeral work for no reward and scant recognition.

It is a long way from grievances over performance pay to a crisis in the foreign service, but I fear that the problems are only

beginning to emerge. In the short term, we hear of them with rising frequency in the cafeteria and we see them in the grievances filed. In the medium term, I fear that they may also manifest themselves in an increase in attrition rates, as more officers, particularly in the junior ranks, find less in the service to overcome the hardships of rotationality. I would hope that I may be reading the signs incorrectly. But if I am not, I would also hope, for the sake of an honourable and worthwhile profession, that we, in PAFSO and in the Department, can put our best minds and our best intents to starting soon to define and to solve what is going wrong.

John Lobsinger, President of PAFSO since 1987, is currently assigned to the Americas Branch, CIDA.

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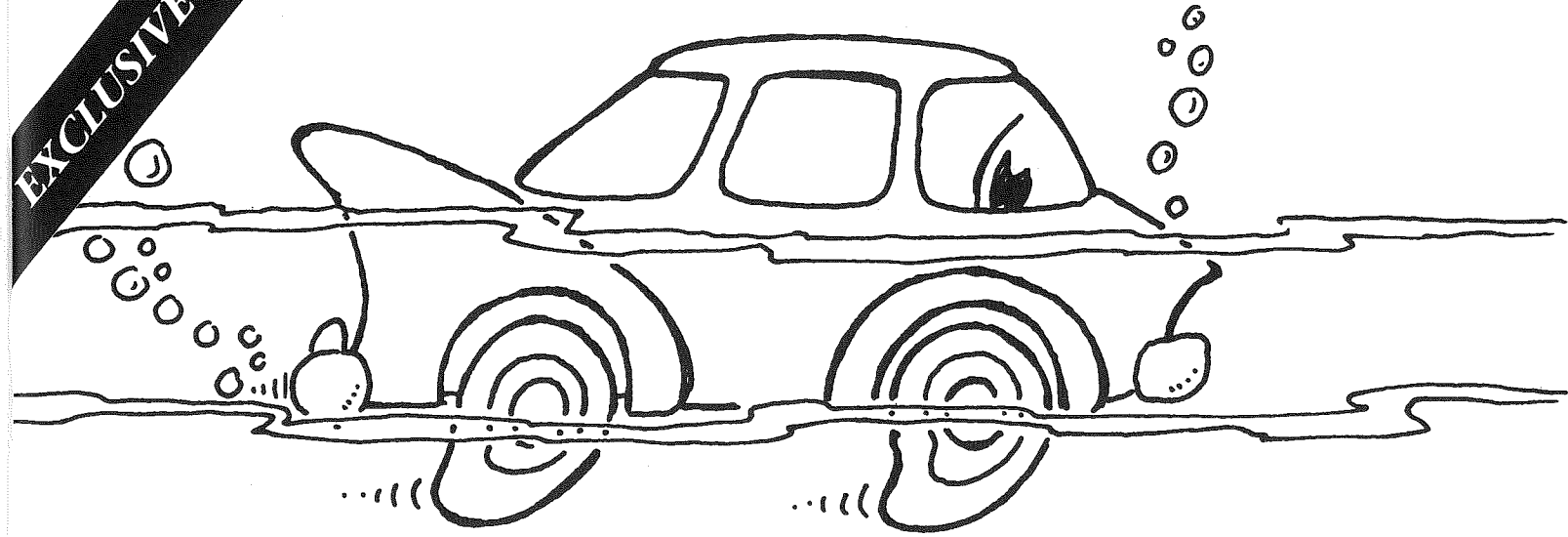


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Ethnics and Foreign Policy

Editor,

In his reply (Fall 87) to my letter (Spring 87), Alan Bowker took issue with my treatment of "security" and "human rights" as objectives of foreign policy and, more particularly, as means to cater to "ethnic" voters. I wish he had not begged the central question by contending that "human rights" are an "aspect" of "security".

The two values are as distinct as they are precious. They may be consistent with one another. One may even be a precondition of the other. To suggest, however, that one is a *part* of the other is better rhetoric than logic, and the confusion could lead to bad policy. We cannot escape, simply by stretching the usual meaning of words, the unpleasant possibility that by pressing another country for internal change we could be reducing the prospects for peaceful relations.

Pressing the Soviet Union to improve its respect for rights, for example, could be at the cost of reducing its disposition to negotiate arms control. This is not so now, but the current situation appears to have more to do with domestic economic pressures within the USSR than Western demands.

My uneasiness about Canada's present position, most notably in the CSCE, can best be explained by a dip into autobiography. I joined External in 1953, and had one posting — Bonn under Charles Ritchie and then Escott Reid. My one remaining year was on the "German" desk in Ottawa. It was a year when the Berlin Crisis was a frightening preoccupation, and I had frequent access to the Under-Secretary, that "brooding genius," Norman Robertson.

While most of us were concerned about surviving the coming months, Robertson focussed on the coming decades, and how to defuse the "German Problem" at the core of East-West tension. The stakes were for him too high to permit a serious concern about personal or national recognition, and domestic politics appeared to be of little matter. Of one of my rare ideas for easing the crisis, he said "A good idea. Too good to be advanced as one of our own until we have taken a week or two to persuade the Americans that it is their idea".

On Robertson's instruction, and under his close guidance, I drafted a study of the probable consequences of the recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier and the East German regime. At the time such thinking was considered subversive in NATO circles, and the resultant memorandum upset some senior officials in External, especially George Drew in London. I left DEA about then, and a recent skim of the files does not suggest

that the "Robertson Plan" was pushed hard. Given his passion for anonymity, however, it is hard to be sure.

I published his ideas as my own (*International Journal* 1960) and was later told by a leading German historian that it was the first blueprint he had seen of what became, a decade later, the Brandt *Ostpolitik*, and changed history.



"...the brooding genius", Norman Robertson, leaves for Norway with Lester Pearson on the occasion of the Nobel Peace Prize ceremonies, December 1957.

Such experience made me proud of Canadian diplomacy and the Department. Generations of students heard that Canada must remain a serious member of NATO, not for defence in any obvious sense, but to augment our quiet influence for diplomatic imagination and military restraint. I was dismayed by the Cold War rhetoric of Diefenbaker and Macdonald, and also by Trudeau's failure to recognize the importance to peace of Canada's reputation as a good Alliance member. More upsetting still was his suggestion that Canada was just *une nation comme toutes les autres*, and like them should adopt a narrow view of its national interest. He learned differently, and ultimately did more for peace than most recipients of the Nobel award. But much harm however, had already been done to the idealism, morale and efficiency of our foreign service.

I knew, of course, that the world moves on. The Cold War had moderated. New international actors had come to the fore.

New issues, including human rights, were rising on the global agenda. Within Canada, domestic politics intruded into what had once been a largely elite preserve.

Nothing, however, had prepared me for the shock of the CSCE files I was permitted to read when writing a chapter on Canada's part in drafting the Helsinki Final Act, (in *Canada and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe*, ed. Robert Spencer). The impact was enhanced by interviews with almost all members of our delegation, relevant politicians, and foreign observers. Our delegation, everyone agreed, was superb. Cohesive, inventive and energetic, it was almost certainly the delegation that made the most of its modest diplomatic assets and opportunities. None of that surprised me.

But what had become of the constructive Doves who had once prevailed in External? Our CSCE delegation took pride in being the toughest in the NATO camp, and they probably were, apart from the ineffectual Dutch. We insisted on squeezing every conceivable concession out of the Soviet side, and often berated our allies for being hasty or soft. Concerning the Eastern borders, we were more German than the Germans.

Why the shift in Canada's role from Moderator to Cold Warrior? One memorandum to Cabinet explained our CSCE participation in terms of Trudeau's celebrated six themes. Far more credible, however, were the numerous references to regaining the respect of the European allies, respect that had been dissipated by the early Trudeau's denigration of NATO and the sharp cutback in our forces. The support of the Europeans was especially desirable because of our quest for the elusive "Contractual Link".

Also found in the files, but much more prominent in the interviews, were enthusiastic references to the domestic political gains from taking a tough line on humanitarian questions such as family reunification. One former Trudeau minister stressed the utility of our CSCE diplomacy in appeasing the Canadians of East European background who had been offended by the Prime Minister's Dovish utterances on relations with the Soviet Bloc.

Several items on file argue that progress on humanitarian issues is a precondition of detente. I saw only one acknowledgement that pressing for domestic change could well be at the expense of detente. I wish I had seen in the files, or heard, more evidence of serious thought on the relationship between human rights and security as ably competing objectives of foreign policy.

I have never said, as Mr. Bowker implies, that the primary aim of Canada's CSCE policy has been "solely" to cater to the ethnic

minorities, but that aim does seem to have loomed large, too large in my judgement.

The present could be a time when we can afford safely to give first priority in our foreign policy to human rights, and I recognize that the CSCE has always had more to do with rights than with security. As a steady diet, however, international peace must be our first objective. Furthermore, while harsh rhetoric in international fora can occasionally serve a useful purpose, apart from pleasing domestic groups, our best approach is almost always the brand of quiet persuasion practiced by diplomats such as Pearson, Robertson, Leger, MacKay, Reid and Holmes.

Peyton V. Lyon
Appleton

* * *

Patronage and the Foreign Service

Editor,

This is not an original thought just a possibly timely re-discovery. The other day while seeking to confirm the dates of Arnold Heeney's two terms as Canadian ambassador to Washington (1953-57, 1959-62). I sat leafing through his book, *The things that are Caesar's*. The final paragraphs of his conclusion struck me as worth rebroadcasting, as the fervor waxes (and wanes) over patronage appointments in the public service and more particularly, within the foreign service, over non-career appointments as Canadian heads of posts abroad.

Arnold Heeney was one of the quintessential public servants of a Canadian public service which, certainly in his day in it, had a high reputation at home and abroad. Thus:

"In recent years there has been a tendency to substitute temporary for permanent advisers to government: to institute in Ottawa, as elsewhere, a cadre of experts and confidantes devoted to particular policies and politicians rather than to the permanent service of the state. In a rapidly changing society this is probably inevitable. It is no longer likely that a professional Civil Service, however competent, can remain wholly in tune with the political and social situation of contemporary Canada. The prime minister must be free to accept advice and appoint advisers from outside the ranks of the regular public service.

"Yet there are dangers in this trend. There is the danger of a

return to patronage, a bypassing of the carefully developed non-political service recruited on merit alone. Will able men and women be content to join a service for life knowing that they may have no chance of rising to its most sensitive and demanding posts? There is also the danger that the importance of administration and expertise continuing through changes in political power, the traditional role of the civil service, may be underrated.

"The Public Service is not autonomous. It exists only to serve the government and the people. Nevertheless, in itself, it embodies the principle of national unity which remains the greatest political aim of government in this land. In the Civil Service men and women from all parts of Canada work together and share a common direct responsibility and direct loyalty to the federal government. The federal Civil Service is a professional microcosm of Canada itself. Obviously this expression of national unity is of particular importance as Canada seeks to become a genuinely bilingual community. The implementation of the recommendations of the B and B Commission with respect to the Civil Service will be a long and difficult process. But it has begun; and the measure of its success is of great significance to the future of Canada.

"In a complex society which makes ever-increasing demands on government, a large and complicated public service is inevitable. Great size and complexity carry with them terrible dangers, chiefly, of course, the dangers commonly associated with the word 'bureaucracy.' Individual civil servants may well lose — or may never acquire — the sense of vocation which is so important to the quality of human achievement. They may well feel themselves to be without purpose in a massive government machine.

Should this happen, able men and women will not be persuaded to enter the Public Service. To prevent this happening should be the continual care, not only of government, but of all Canadians."
In any event Order in Council appoint-

ments (the most senior ones) to the public service are among *The Things That Are Caesar's*. Nevertheless!

Jim Nutt

* * *

Editor,

I have read with much interest your Winter issue and congratulate you on an excellent publication. I was particularly delighted to note the prominence you gave to your fight against the unconscionable patronage appointments to heads of post. In particular your cartoon on Page 39 was "bang on".

Recently when a newspaper columnist wrote that the Paris post was one of the plums at the disposal of the PM, as if such appointments were now accepted as "plums". I wrote to the SSEA complaining about the plethora of such patronage appointments in a Service that had an enviable world-wide reputation. I pointed out that such actions would inevitably damage that Service and certainly lower its morale....

Perhaps we are waging a war that is already lost. Perhaps "Ambassadors" are not any more really important. George Ignatieff touches on the problem in his book "The Making of a Peacemonger". In that (p. 253) George writes that under Trudeau ambassadors were reduced to carrying out administrative duties or to act as travel agents and greeters of the great ones from Ottawa. Apart from the disdain shown by politicians, there was also a similar tendency of the Head-office wallahs to consider that H.Q. knew best and that the officers on the sharp end of the operation, unless they happened to have come from the ranks of the Mandarins, were in fact only useful in carrying out instructions from what was known as "Killers Row", their opinions being ignored, or not even being sought. If this seems bitter, I do not mean it so, but having served all of my career abroad (never in Ottawa) perhaps I am more sensitive to the age-old conflict between head office and people in the field...

R. Guy. C. Smith

* * *

Editor,

...I wish to comment on the article written by Colin Robertson "Dépêche d'Adieu" in the Fall issue of *bout de papier*.

It would seem quite naive, I believe, for anyone to accept the statistics on Patronage Appointments as shown in the insert on page 47. As shown, these statistics can be



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very misleading unless they were to provide information as to the number of Foreign Posts and Missions which were in place at the time each Prime Minister was in office. This is much more important than giving the number of years the nine P.M.s were in authority. Most of us know how to manipulate statistics and this example is no exception.

I, for one, favour the appointment of persons outside the Department of External Affairs who can make valuable contributions to the conduct of Canada's diplomatic representation abroad. However, I have not hesitated to write to the Prime Minister's Office when I felt that an appointee was unsuitable, as was the case for Jean Drapeau.

We must concede that not all Foreign Service Officers are luminaries albeit this sentiment seems to permeate all levels of the

Service. It is questionable why one should continue to criticize appointments from outside the Service while we bury our heads in the sand concerning the incompetence of some F.S. appointees.

It was refreshing to read Colin's comments on page 48 "observations to guide our path", particularly the paragraph starting "It is ironic...etc". Of course, this has always been true of Immigration officers before their integration with the Dept. of External Affairs, in the Social Affairs stream. We should not forget that some 20 Immigration Officers from Canada Immigration Centres are assisting and doing a very professional job albeit not F.S.O.s.

R. Saint-Vincent

* * *

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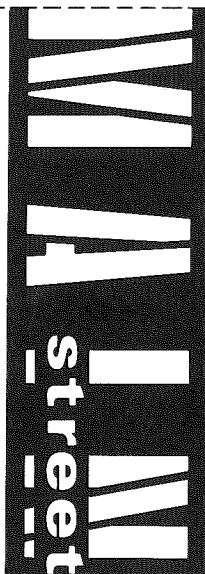
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The Value of International Students to Canada

by Ayman Al-Yassini

Can there be any doubt that hosting international students is beneficial to Canada? Yes, there can. Certainly the general public perception of international students is one of a "burden", taking the place of Canadian students at the expense of Canadian taxpayers. In my lobbying activity on Parliament Hill two years ago, a parliamentarian expressed her reservation about the value of international students to Canadian society, noting that "my constituency members do not wish to pay for the education of non-Canadians. We have limited resources; these resources need to be spent on Canadians rather than foreigners."

A closer evaluation of the cost and benefits of international students in Canada demonstrates the opposite. The costs are few; the benefits are many. Some of the benefits are financial; others are academic, cultural and political.

International students contribute to the Canadian economy financially. They are required by law to bring with them sufficient funds to cover all of their costs while in Canada, an amount which ranges from \$7,000 to \$15,000 per year per student, depending on the province and area of study. The Vancouver Board of Trade estimates the inflow of foreign capital from the spending of international students in Canada to be nearly \$500 million per year, supporting some 17,000 jobs.

Findings of other studies seem to support this conclusion. University of Windsor Professor Reuben Green has demonstrated that foreign students play an important role in the Canadian economy. Similarly, a study by Ellen Waxman, conducted for the Ontario Federation of students, concluded that international students enrolled in Ontario universities pay more than 100% of the full average costs of their education. She calculates that international students contribute \$455 million to the Canadian economy annually. Yet Canada charges international students a fee differential which goes beyond what Canadian students pay.

In 1985, a Maritime Province Higher Education Commission report confirmed that there were no economic reasons for student differential fees. The report estimated that international students contributed \$18 million to the Maritime economy in the 1983-84 academic year. This spending level

was higher than the total average educational costs of foreign students in the Maritime Provinces (\$14 million).

The cost-benefit analysis of international students cannot be complete without examining the long-term effects of favourable economic and political relations with foreign countries. These benefits can hardly be quantified, but they are significant and can be easily and abruptly ended. When Great Britain established full-cost tuition fees for international students, Malaysia placed a boycott on British goods. If this were to happen here, Canada would stand to lose more than \$100 million a year. In a world that is becoming more and more dependent on foreign trade, the role of international education progressively increases in importance.

An Australian study estimates that foreign students in that country contribute at least three times the marginal costs of their education to the Australian economy. The importance of this study lies in its examination of the trade effects factor. The Australians have concluded that 25% of their foreign trade with some countries is due to the influence of former international students educated in Australia.

American-Saudi trade relations provide another example. The majority of Saudi deputy ministers and senior civil servants, as well as leading businessmen, have received their education in the United States. Many of these graduates give preference when assigning contracts to American-based companies. In my research on Saudi Arabia, and during my teaching year at King Saud University, I interviewed many Saudi bureaucrats who talked fondly of their study years in the United States. This affection is usually coupled with respect for American know-how and equipment.

International students have helped monitor and extend Canadian research and development capacity, especially in area studies, science and engineering. A number of area-studies programs and departments are kept alive thanks to the attendance of international students. The Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, for example, has more students from Muslim countries than Canadians. Recently, the Institute signed a multi-million dollar agreement with the Government of Indonesia to train Indonesian students in religious affairs.

Scholarship and research are intrinsically international in nature. As the Ontario Colleges and University Affairs stated in its document *Tuition Fees for Foreign Graduate Students at Ontario Universities: Briefing Notes* (1983):

1. Universities are dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge, scholarships and research activities that transcend national borders....
2. Graduate-level education is enhanced by the presence of a diverse group of students who also bring to the task a variety of educational backgrounds, conceptual frameworks, and methodologies.
3. In some academic areas, there is a shortage of qualified Canadian students, willing to do graduate study (e.g. computer science, engineering and certain natural and life sciences). The lack of Canadian candidates jeopardizes the future of advanced research in these areas.

International students fill the gaps, sometimes even keeping specialized schools and institutes open so that future Canadian students with an interest in these areas have the option of studying them in Canada. It is difficult to imagine how these disciplines would survive without foreign scholars.

In 1986-87, international students comprised 16.7% of post-secondary enrolment in Canada, and the percentage is even higher in departments with solid international reputations. In fact, a good indication of academic excellence is the number of foreign scholars and students a department or a university attracts. The Council of Ontario Universities recently explained that "across a variety of academic outlines, Ontario universities offer doctorate options and engage in research activities that enjoy an international reputation. This attracts high quality students from abroad who in turn contribute both to their strength and reputation."

The presence of international students enhances the quality of education experienced by Canadian students who learn about other people and cultures first hand; this benefit applies as well to local communities. In multi-cultural Canada, many small communities have little access to the cultures and traditions of other countries. International students are usually invited to discussion groups, public awareness meetings and cross-cultural exchange events to talk about their country and their experience in

Canada. A number of international students told me that they perceive themselves as the ambassadors of their country in Canada. "I have a moral duty to explain my country to Canadians, and to explain Canada to my compatriots," an international student told me.

Many graduates from Canadian universities have taken good memories back to their home countries, and serve as unofficial diplomatic and trade ambassadors for Canada. While no studies have yet been completed identifying the positions occupied by foreign graduates of Canadian institutions and the links forged for Canada by these graduates, specific examples exist. In a brief and informative survey conducted by CBIE in 1986, we were able to identify some prominent graduates of Canadian institutions in Zambia, Singapore, Guyana, Bangladesh, Israel, Japan, Tunisia, Belgium, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Indonesia, Lesotho, Greece, Rwanda, Papua-New Guinea and the West Indies.

The international graduates of Canadian post-secondary institutions form an influential group. They include university presidents, senior civil servants, diplomats, heads of business and industry. What is needed is a more elaborate inventory of names, and a deliberate plan of action to maintain contact to promote relations between Canada and other countries through these ambassadors of good will.

Canada is a country of trade and commerce. More than one-quarter of the country's gross domestic product is destined for export.

Business to Canada can be readily traced to preferences of international entrepreneurs who were once students in Canada. A 1986 article in the *Toronto Star* describes the ease with which the Eaton Company arranged its "Eaton's Uncrates the Sun: Salute to Hong Kong" promotion, precisely because Hong Kong business people were already familiar with — and eager to do business with — their Canadian counterparts. The link with Canada is so strong that a banquet hosted by the Canadian Trade Commissioner and the Dean of the Faculty of Management at the University of Toronto to publish a new MBA project drew 250 of Hong Kong's business elite.

An equally impressive show of commitment was expressed early last year at a reception in Kuala Lumpur hosted by the Canadian High Commissioner to Malaysia. The more than 200 guests, mostly Malaysian graduates of Canadian universities, represented a diverse community of future leaders of Malaysia. Feeling at home with Canadians, the guests concentrated on what university or college they attended, what

they liked most about Canada, and how they benefited from their Canadian education in their present career. For many, the question was, "Why has Canada forgotten us?" A Malay engineer who works in his father's large construction firm said; "I would like to do more business with Canada, but Canadians are slow in responding to our requests."

The role of international students as trade ambassadors is well documented in other countries. An Australian study of overseas student policy entitled *Mutual Advantage* reported that former international students in one country had influenced decisions involving projects and contracts to the value of approximately \$100 million per year and about 25% of the total value of Australia's exports to that country.

While difficult to calculate, the trade benefits may be as high or higher for Canada. Realizing the importance of international education to Canada, A.J. de Grandpre, Chairman of Bell Canada, noted that "from observations made while participating in the global market, I have come to the conclusion that Canada needs to make changes in order to be successful internationally. One of those changes involves greater effort on our part in the field of international education." Elaborating on this point, de Grandpre expressed the view that his company does not look to government for help to subsidize their products. "We do require support, however, in finding foreign buyers." This support can be found through former graduates who are the leaders of foreign countries. These graduates would become the business or political elite who, in five, 10 or 15 years, could be the purchasers of goods and services. Would they not prefer to do business with former classmates with whom they developed friendships while studying in Canada, rather than deal with new commercial acquaintances?

Although the benefits and advantages are clear, international students in Canada face many problems. Some of these problems may be attributed to federal-provincial relations. While education is acknowledged to be a provincial responsibility, the federal government can provide more than half of the funding for possible secondary education. Through the Established Program Funding (EPF), the provinces have the jurisdiction to determine what portion of the EPF is allocated to education. While Ottawa claims to have increased the EPF allocation for education, the provinces seem to have allocated this increase to health services. Consequently, a number of provinces charge fee differential to international students to recover some of the expenses related to their education.

Statistics Canada's latest report shows that international students in Canada will pay higher differential fees to reflect a combined surcharge and annual inflationary increase. Differential fees to new international students vary from \$1416 for undergraduates in Alberta to \$5850 in Quebec. At present, seven provinces charge differential fees; Newfoundland, Manitoba and Saskatchewan do not. Ontario and Quebec charge the highest fees.

One of the consequences of imposing differential fees is that Canada is less attractive for international students. Since 1982-83, international student enrolments have declined steadily. Total post-secondary enrolment decreased from 37,269 students in 1985-86 to 35,155 in 1986-87, a reduction of 5.7%. Over a five-year period (1982-87), an overall decline of 19.4% took place.

Certainly it is misleading to attribute the decline of international students in Canada exclusively to differential fees. A number of other factors need to be considered, including the devaluation of many Third World currencies, decline of economic growth in the Third World, the establishment of national universities and colleges in the lesser developed countries, the absence of solid Canadian marketing strategies, and tendencies among international students to choose education in one country over another.

Compared to other countries, Canada's position vis-a-vis international students needs improvement. India is an underdeveloped country with little resources to spend on the education of non-Indian citizens. Still, the country's higher education system includes first-class universities and research institutes which attract students from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Although no exact figures regarding the number of international students in India exist, estimates suggest their number between 40,000-120,000 of a total enrolment of about 3.5 million students.

What is not in doubt is the basic policy of the country's University Grants Commission, which controls the financing of universities for the Central Government. In a country where tuition fees count for 5% or less of higher education revenue, it is national policy not to charge differential fees to international students.

The benefits of having international students in Canada are obvious. The recent Winegard report and the government's response to it are a good beginning. The increase in the number of scholarships to Francophone and Commonwealth students are moves in the right direction. CIDA's commitment to human resources development projects reflects a keen awareness that the wealth of nations is found in their people. But more remains to be done. Consistent

federal-provincial policies on international students are needed. More scholarships to needy and qualified students from nonfrancophone and non-Commonwealth countries are important to diversify the international student population. Increased involvement of female students from Asia, Africa and Latin America is important if Canada is to play a role in international development.

International education is also good business for Canada. A more coordinated marketing strategy needs to be worked out between and within federal and provincial agencies and departments. We can learn

some lessons from the British Council and the recently established Australian agency to market the country's educational services abroad. Canadian educational services mean money to Canada. In the past five years alone, the Canadian Bureau for International Education brought to Canada projects worth some \$73 million. A solid Canadian marketing strategy will enable us to do more. ✍

Ayman Yassini is Director of Policy and Public Affairs, World University Service of Canada (WUSC).

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Mr. Mackenzie King and the Onset of War, 1937-1941

by James A. Gibson

On August 31, 1939 I was on late duty in the Prime Minister's Office in the East Block, as one or other of my colleagues and I had been, in rotation, for several months. The only diversion in an otherwise quiet evening was an encounter with a peace activist (female) who, detained by the RCMP constable at the south door, demanded to see "someone in authority." I went downstairs, and all unsuspecting, was given an unrestrained tongue-lashing: if war broke out it would be my fault, and I should be imprisoned for negligence and for misleading the people. The verbal tempest subsided, and I resumed my upstairs vigil until 11 p.m. when (the national news being over), I went home.

I was back again before 6 a.m. in response to an urgent summons from the switchboard operator. The United Kingdom ultimatum to Germany following the invasion of Poland had expired, and these two nations were formally at war. There was then a long day of waiting and wondering: the Cabinet met; Parliament was recalled for September 7; additional provisions under the War Measures Act were proclaimed. An office routine began which, with minor variations, was to last for nearly five years; a group of Foreign Service Officers was "frozen" into civilian occupations for the duration; and there were many weeks of seven-day duty and no regular holidays until I had resigned from the Department.

Two impressions among many are, after nearly 49 years, still compellingly vivid: the day-after-dayness of everyday tasks, which made any long-range perspective an uneasy prospect; and the companion-imperative of getting on with the job and with the ever-present hope that the total war effort could be that of a united Canada.

The broadcast which the Prime Minister made on September 3 (subsequently published under the title "Canada at Britain's Side") represented the crossing-over of a considerable height of land in Mr. Mackenzie King's thinking about the war in Europe. At some time between September 1 and this broadcast he must in his own mind and conscience have crossed over a divide; and from then until "the hour of victory" (May 8, 1945) he never looked back.

As late as 1936 there was not much about Canadian foreign policy that had been



Mackenzie King, Churchill and Roosevelt, the Pacific War Council at the White House, Washington, June 1942.

public policy; there had been for at least 10 years a certain continuing pre-occupation with *status* (as opposed to *function*), creating, as it were, entitlement without implying involvement. It had more than once happened that the estimates for the Department of External Affairs were considered on the last day of the session in the House of Commons; there was never much sense of direction, nor indeed of urgency, from deliberations in Parliament itself. Mr. Mackenzie King's attachment to "Parliament-will-decide-in-the-light-of-all-the-circumstances-then-existing" was perhaps less a policy than an attitude of mind; and he seemed perfectly content to espouse the "back-seat" role for Canada outlined by Escott Reid (in 1937, before he joined the Department of External Affairs). Whatever attractions, outwardly, Mr. King's interpretation might have

seemed to embrace, it lacked an essential element of certainty, without which there could be no finality in any policy.

In 1937 it would perhaps have been easier to say that Canadian policy was *not*. As early as 1936 (in a speech in the Commons on the lifting of sanctions against Italy, Mr. King had said that two conditions essential to the working of any Plan for "universal compulsion" were "an overwhelming preponderance of power, economic and military... as against any possible combination of aggressors; the second was the certainty that members of the League would be ready to exercise that force when the occasion arose, regardless of where it arose or whether they had any direct interest in the quarrel."

In remarks in the House of Commons on June 18, 1936. Mr. King had made it clear that neither of these conditions existed but he did not propose any alternative. The "conditions" must have been much in his mind throughout the ensuing three years.

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His own ingrained belief was that "the really great people were the conciliators... the Pasteurs would be remembered when the Napoleons and the Hitlers were forgotten." (A Diary entry in 1938 remarked that Hitler "will rank some day with Joan of Arc among the deliverers of his people, and if he is only careful he may yet be the deliverer of Europe".)

Later that year Mr. King was present at the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva; this was followed by travels in Europe, and after his return to Ottawa he spoke at a public banquet in Ottawa. The main theme appeared to be the scriptural admonition "be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good"; one commentator was heard to remark that this may have been the last occasion on which a Prime Minister of Canada could make a speech of that kind.

In 1937 there was a quickening of the pace of interest and the depth of concern, partly reflected in reaction to the "quarantine" speech made by President Roosevelt in Chicago; partly in the provision for increased spending on defence. Mr. King had been at the Imperial Conference and had visited Germany, which certainly had had a sobering effect on his perception of the possible menace of Hitlerism.

In retrospect there must have been a good deal of rationalization; a quality frequently drawn upon over the next six or seven years. At the Imperial Conference following the Coronation. Mr. King had been at pains to avoid commitments, though the experience seemed to have hardened his resolve, all on the side of caution. There was a continuing reserve, not to say suspicion, about all attempts at "centralization", partly originating in plans devised in Britain without consultation in advance, some of which now appear to have been founded on an expectation that Canada would not join in if Britain were involved in a "European" war.

In May of 1938 Mr. King said that the true Canadian task was to build up a genuine democracy at home, to promote sound social relationships, and to develop a tolerance and readiness to work together with other members of the Commonwealth, and in friendly relations with other countries. He added, that the notion that Canadians once in every generation should have to engage in wars of European making was "midsummer madness".

Something of the same mentality entered into responses to developments in 1938 culminating in the Munich agreement and the momentary emphasis on appeasement. The rationalization that was observable at this time may have been no more than political realism: General Maurice Pope has

recorded that in talking with Mr. King (in Paris) about events leading up to the Munich agreement the Prime Minister had said that "Canadian public opinion... was not ready to come into the war... had he, in 1938, taken the stand that he took a year later, he would not have had a member of the Government from Quebec, nor one or two of the others from the East." There had evidently been considerable feeling that a declaration of war in September, 1938, would have meant war in the face of a divided public opinion.

The cable which the Prime Minister sent to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (August 26) nowadays sounds fulsome; there were to be other cables to Mussolini and to the President of Poland. But some time during the following week, as I have suggested, Mr. King passed over the "height of land". Perhaps, by that time, there appeared to be no alternative.

When Parliament was summoned it was not immediately made clear (the Speech from the Throne did not say so, and in his own main statement on September 7 Mr. King had not said so, though he remembered on the following day), that if both Houses adopted addresses in reply to the Speech from the Throne, this action would be followed by the issuing of a Proclamation declaring the existence of a state of war between Canada and the German Reich. What happened therefore was a deliberate, Parliamentary determination; the formal proclamation was issued on September 10.

From September, 1939 to May, 1940, there was a period of "building-up". The 1st Canadian Division reached the United Kingdom in December. The agreement constituting the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was signed, also in December, and the production of training and operational aircraft, as well as of ships and many materials of war was gradually and, later, spectacularly increased. Financial aid to Britain was authorized after extended negotiations.

One sidelight on the impact of conditions of war is represented by Mr. King's public statements and broadcasts.

Between September 3, 1939 and July 10, 1940, he made 15 broadcasts in Canada; one in the United States; 13 extended statements in the House of Commons; one major address in Winnipeg, and various other statements to the press (this was still before television), and one Convocation Address at Princeton University, where he received an honorary degree.

If one measures these statements against a chronology of main events, it becomes apparent that there were insistent pressures

— pressures which in my own experience intensified the day-after-dayness of everyday requirements.

Parliament met towards the end of January, 1940, but was dissolved after one afternoon session; part of Mr. King's election strategy was to seek an unqualified mandate for the prosecution of the war effort. The result of the General Election (March, 1940) gave the Liberal Party a majority of 117 over the combined Opposition — the largest ever to that point — and for the first time since 1917 a party had a majority of the popular vote. The Government victory effectively put an end to any likelihood of a "national government", which had been, for the moment, part of the Opposition campaign strategy; and it meant that for five years ahead there would be a clear run in terms of Parliamentary "elbow-room."

In a matter of weeks the "phantom war" had given place to concern and urgency, with Nazi penetration into Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium, and the capitulation of the Government of France.

My own concerns, as a Foreign Service Officer on secondment, became increasingly determined and shaped by the day-to-day progress of hostilities on many fronts. Though I tried, on first arriving at the top floor of Laurier House (May 15, 1940), to provide some semblance of order within a considerable accumulation of "war records", the task was not easy, partly because it was difficult to determine what the Secretary of State for External Affairs actually wanted, needed, or would be satisfied with. The volume of material arriving daily meant that he rarely would have been able (with Cabinet and House of Commons responsibilities alone) to read it; even careful *précis* might go unread for days at a time; and if Mr. King chose to lock up documents at random there might be no early prospect of recovering and filing them. We attempted "colour-coding" to try to create some priority order, with only indifferent success. Learning on the job, we became more expert in timing, so that frequently we could obtain more decisions between 6:10 and 6:25 on Saturday afternoons than at any other time in the week.

In the end, one had to develop a sense of the mood of the day, sometimes of the hour, and to be vigilant accordingly. The Prime Minister was not apt to seek advice from Third Secretaries (wartime usage inhibited substantive promotions): I would occasionally be asked what I thought about a particular matter, without any certainty that what I could reply would have any useful application.

One must add that the business of government, so far as decisions emanated

from Laurier House, did proceed; and after a low point (in 1941) the process of securing decisions was markedly improved. It was sometimes worth the effort to concentrate on one or two "star" items and to deal lightly with the generality. A good deal of thought and patient effort had gone into the drafting of papers originating in the Department of External Affairs, and even though Mr. King might have no personal acquaintance with quite senior officers of the Department he took note of and acted on considered recommendations transmitted through the Under-Secretary.

The Prime Minister nevertheless maintained a considerable reserve, not to say discretion, to act or not to act on specific proposals. This perhaps arose because he maintained throughout the war a not-always-disguised suspicion of the motives of Whitehall (though the Dominions Office always ranked higher in his estimation than the Foreign Office or the Treasury or the survival of the Imperial Defence Committee). For more than 25 years — certainly since the Chanak incident — he had been opposed to any "centralization"; and at successive Imperial Conferences between 1923 and 1937, he had resisted any suggestion of an "Empire" posture collectively to link the Dominions. He thought some per-

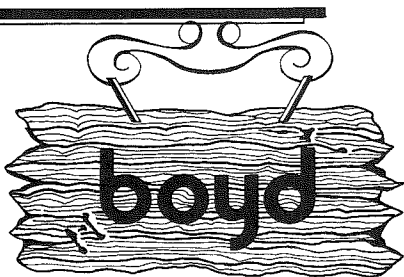
manent officials in London took too much for granted, either that Canada would be a participant in a war not of her own making, or that whatever war effort might ensue might be submerged into a United Kingdom effort; and it must be added that some British participants in early negotiations (1939) were so insensitively superior that Mr. King took an immediate dislike to them, and said so.

There were considerable shifts in outward attitude after May, 1940, when Churchill became Prime Minister in Britain. As early as 1904 Mr. King had expressed an unwillingness to meet the younger visiting politician in Ottawa; under wartime conditions nearly 40 years later he had to arrive at some working accommodation and position of co-operation. It was never an even-handed friendship; whether he acknowledged it or not Mr. King was the inferior; and especially after the United States entered hostilities (December, 1941) there was less and less room for any considerable *Canadian* share in the overall strategic direction of the war.

Writing nearly 50 years after the event, any judgment of Mr. Mackenzie King's personal involvement in the events at which he was at the centre is bound to be subjective. It might reasonably be asked, given the circumstances

of 1937 through 1945, and confronted by major problems of waging war, whether any man, or any combination of men, could have dealt with them so well and in a way so generally acceptable to the great majority of the people. In Mr. King's case, in my own observation, there was a curious blending of the relective and the ruthless, of the intuitive and the rational, of the peaks of aspiration and achievement and the valleys of disappointment and frustration. There was, as well, the loneliness and the anonymity of direction; the white heat of intensity from which decisions sometimes emerged and, only infrequently, the compensations of ordinary livelihood. Amid all the caution and reserve there were occasional flashes of what we would now recognize as "national identity"; and if in the end the Prime Minister supposed that the overall direction of the war effort was what a majority of the people of Canada of that generation wanted, for the time being he may well have been right. ✎

A frequent contributor to *bout de papier*, **James A. Gibson**, joined External Affairs in 1938 and served on secondment to the Prime Minister's Office throughout the Second World War. He is President Emeritus of Brock University and lives in Vineland, Ontario.



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TALES FROM AWAY —

The Old Story Teller

by Laurel Pardy

I remember his eyes, calm and steady as they gazed through the bottle-bottom spectacles. When he looked at you, you did not see the wrinkled face or the dusty, once-white rags that fluttered from his emaciated limbs.

In another incarnation he might have been a miniature St. Nicholas but, in this existence, he was an old story-teller, begging out his life on the teeming streets of New Delhi.

*In another incarnation he
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He was a tiny man, shorter than my five foot two, fragile-looking under his load of cloths. His garments could hardly have been called clothes, yet they wrapped him round in familiar comfort; garments by day, bed clothes by night.

He carried a small bundle, a bamboo walking stick and a black umbrella. The bundle contained his life's possessions, the stick gave steadiness to his faltering steps, and the umbrella provided a roof against the sun and rain.

He was waiting for me one day, sitting quietly on my front steps. Usually the gate to our yard was locked so that beggars could not wander in off the streets. I went over to shoo him away and instead brought him tea — hot, milky, and full of sugar — the way old men like it. In doing so, I knew that I was only encouraging him to return but I had not the heart to refuse such a small thing to someone with such a tenuous hold on life.

Inevitably, he returned. This time my young sons were in the garden and, certain that at the very least he carried lice and tuberculosis, I hurried to bring them inside.

They were seated on the steps at his feet, enthralled by his words. The language was

irrelevant. Only their eyes moved as he unfolded the tale of Humayun, the monkey god, and his search for his beloved Sita in soft, fluid Hindi, a language of which they barely knew a smattering of phrases.



Once again, instead of sending him away, I went inside to see to his tea.

He accepted the tea and some small coins with a slight nod of his head. This was no hand-out; he had rendered his service in the telling of the tale and the payment was his due.

He was a regular visitor during the remainder of our stay in India. It did not seem necessary to leave the gate unlocked for him and, although I watched, I never saw him enter the grounds. I would find him resting patiently in the shade of our porch until someone took notice of him.

If the boys were not there to provide him with an audience, he told his stories to the canna lilies so that the tea and the coins could never be called charity.

I do not regret the coins or the endless cups of sweet tea; however, I will regret forever that I never even asked his name.

*Laurel Pardy, a regular contributor to **bout de papier**, is a frequent writer on issues of international mobility, basing her observations on both research and personal experience.*



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An M.P. in Manhattan

by Sidney Freifeld

Working abroad in the Foreign Service may provide one unexpected compensation — a more intimate and rewarding view of Members of Parliament than you are likely to obtain back in Ottawa.

Members of the House — always apparently preoccupied with getting back home to minister to their constituents — nevertheless manage to journey abroad in surprising numbers. Some of them are simply Parliamentary Peripatetics who, at their own expense, journey from Switzerland to Swaziland in pursuit of the knowledge that will enhance their performance on the Back Benches at home. There are Parliamentary Clubmen, who visit with their opposite numbers in Commonwealth and foreign capitals to exchange ideas and return to Ottawa recharged by exposure to parliamentary institutions in the farthest corners of the globe. And there are the Parliamentary Observers who, drawn from all parties in the House, focus on Canada's performance each autumn at the General Assembly of the United Nations and at other proliferations of that complex international body.

To Externalites stationed at Canada's Permanent Mission to the United Nations, the autumnal visit by Parliamentary Observers generates a happy rather than a fearful prospect, for we have learned that any problems their presence may create will be only little ones. In addition to the briefings they will want on the larger affairs of state and the U.N. debates they will be observing, they will want to know where to eat in New York for the same price they enjoy in the Parliamentary Dining Room, or why the hometown newspaper from Moose Jaw or Antigonish is not to be found in their hotel on the day of publication, or how to get a ticket for tonight's performance of a long-sold-out play. A lost wallet here, a parking ticket there, a piece of luggage gone astray — and sometimes they may lose their way. But, by the time the General Assembly finally ends, we are sorry to see them go.

Only rarely do our Parliamentary kinfolk become involved in some untoward incident — of such a nature as to go unrecorded in the omnivorous files of External Affairs; such as what happened to an M.P., who shall remain unnamed, who came down to New York as an Observer on the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in an autumn of the early 1970's.

This Member of the House was short in stature, dark of hair, high of spirit and quick of tongue. He brought to New York his spouse, a lady considerably taller than he and by contrast blonde. To forestall any suggestion here of Male Chauvinism, let it suffice to describe her with understatement simply as a stunner, a showstopper and altogether glorious to behold.

To Externalites stationed at Canada's Permanent Mission to the United Nations, the autumnal visit by Parliamentary Observers generates a happy rather than a fearful prospect.

To house Parliamentarians and others from Ottawa coming down to help out at the General Assembly, our Permanent Mission to the United Nations used to put them up at the Barclay Hotel — a dignified hostelry located next to the Waldorf Astoria in the block between Park and Lexington Avenues and between 48th and 49th Streets. During that autumn a store across the road from the Lexington Avenue entrance to the Barclay had closed, leaving a dark stretch on this busy and otherwise brightly-lit thoroughfare. That dark stretch began to attract a considerable number of Ladies of the Night, seeking to maintain a low profile and to avoid harassment by New York's Finest, who were on one of their periodic rampages to reduce such blemishes on the Metropolitan image.

However, to the growing consternation of the Barclay's management, not only did these Ladies continue to congregate on Lexington Avenue right across the road from the hotel entrance but, it was noticed, on occasion, a Barclay guest would conduct one upstairs in the hotel.

To thwart this unprecedented threat to the Barclay's reputation, the management set up security desks inside the hotel's entrances and manned these with House Detectives whose roster was augmented so that a watch could be kept up round the clock.

It was during this period that our Parliamentary Observer followed the proceedings of a U.N. Committee well into the evening hours. Very tired, he was then joined by his wife for a late snack, and they strolled

together back to the Barclay. Mounting the steps leading to the lobby, our M.P. was accosted by a recently-hired House Detective who, taking him aside, said in a discreet voice: "Sorry, sir, may I ask you not to take this woman upstairs?"

Parliamentarian, somewhat less discreetly: "And just why, may I ask, should I not take this woman upstairs?"

Friendly house detective, still discreetly: "Please understand, sir, I'm just doing my job. And that's to ask you not to take this woman upstairs."

Parliamentarian, not at all discreetly: "I'll have you know that this woman is my wife, living with me in the hotel, and I'm damned well going to take her upstairs."

Friendly house detective, looking from short Parliamentarian to Statuesque Companion with a tut-tut, sure-sure air: "Sure, I understand sir, but I must still ask you not to take her upstairs."

Statuesque companion, seemingly amused, remains aloof from conversation.

Parliamentarian, colour approaching purple: "I'm a member of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations. Here's my Delegation identification card. And any member of the Delegation staying at the hotel will certainly identify my wife."

Friendly house detective, beginning to frown, casts quick look around lobby. Not a member of the Delegation was in sight.

Parliamentarian, irate: "Phone anyone at the Canadian Permanent Mission. They will confirm that this is my wife." He pulls out a copy of the Permanent Mission's home telephone list (with which we thoughtfully arm all Parliamentary visitors).

Friendly house detective, by now alarmed, phones Angus Matheson, Head of Chancery.

Angus, as stolid and phlegmatic a Scot as ever worked for External, was fortunately at home. Asked by the House Detective to describe the Parliamentarians's wife, Angus — then a specialist in External's and the United Nations' budget and finances — rose to this challenge, as forthrightly as Ambassador Kenneth Taylor rose to his challenge of rescuing American colleagues in Teheran. Angus' description, with his customary regard for detail, of the Parliamentarian's handsome wife satisfied the House Detective completely.

Statuesque companion, to Parliamentarian: "Well, thank God that's over. Now let's get upstairs and get to bed." 

*Sidney Freifeld, a former ambassador to Colombia and Ecuador, and a member of the Senior Editorial Board of **bout de papier**, holds the world's record for fly-rod-caught spotted sea trout.*

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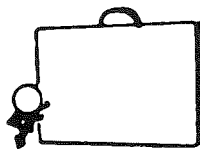
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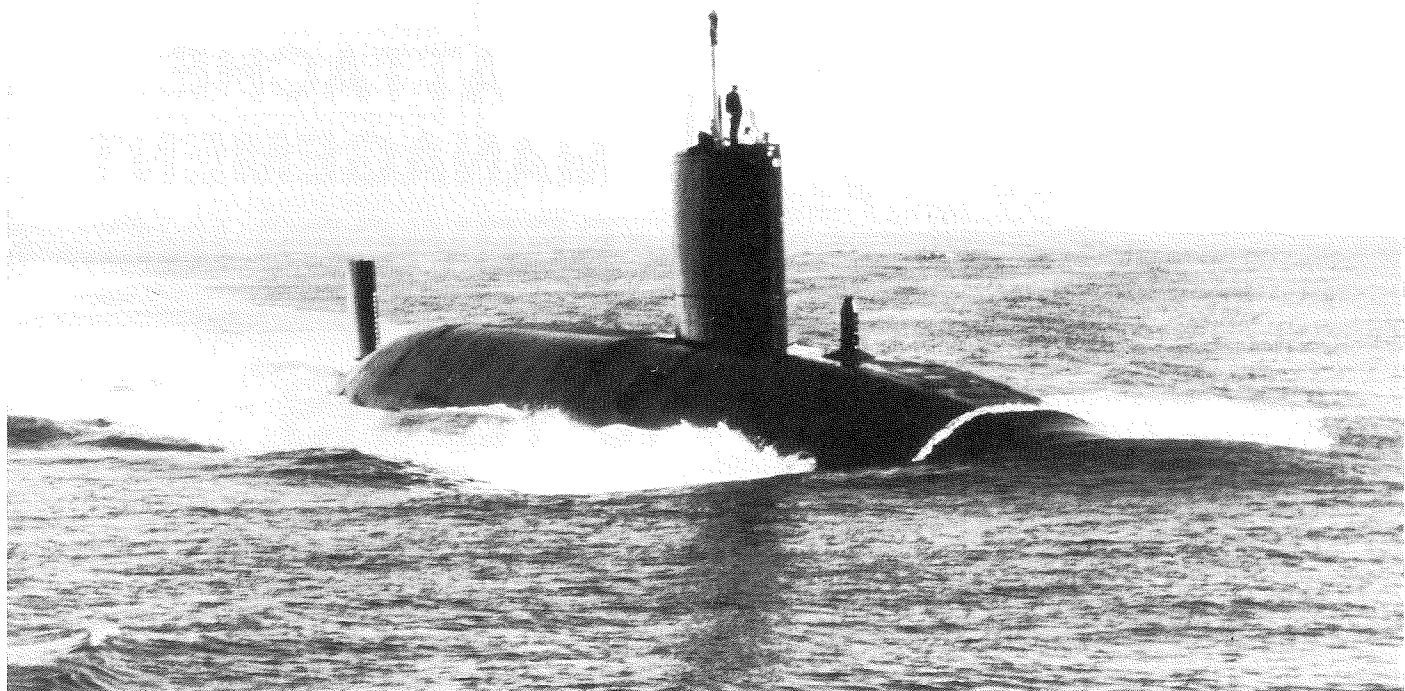
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The Defence White Paper

Some Reflections on its International Aspects

by Ross Campbell

Publication of the White Paper on Defence on June 5, 1987 signalled a welcome end to a period of neglect and decay in our Armed Forces spanning more than two decades. Although in the last ten years there have been occasional procurements of various defence systems — mainly frigates, fighter aircraft and tanks — it has been a patchwork affair where impending collapse of a given type of equipment rather than an orderly plan of capital renewal has been the driving force. In the Minister's phrase, "rust out" is not a very sound basis for equipment replacement. Every Canadian will derive some satisfaction from the knowledge that our armed forces will, for the first time in the post-Korean War period, be progressively re-equipped to meet an up-dated evaluation of the threat, of the tasks the threat imposes and of advances in military hardware technology.

It will be particularly gratifying to most that the ambitious and expensive plan to modernize all three elements of our forces has been accomplished without involving

dramatic departures in Canada's international alignments. Our collective security arrangements under NATO and NORAD are re-affirmed, as is Canadian continued support for UN peacekeeping operations and for arms control proposals. This situation contrasts strongly with the prelude to the 1971 White Paper, where every option from unarmed neutrality to continued participation in alliance arrangements was studied — with none ruled out *ab initio* — resulting in an undermining of confidence in us on the part of our NATO partners. The subsequent decision to cut our forces in Europe in half and to reduce the overall strength of our armed forces — all carried out in the immediate aftermath of the Warsaw Pact invasion and suppression of Dubcek's Czechoslovakia — convinced the other members of the NATO Alliance that Canada was only marginally interested in the security of Western Europe, and certainly not sufficiently so to maintain its commitments to collective security, despite the palpable threat to Europe posed by the militant philosophy of the Soviet-led forces. Nothing short of this June 5, 1987 declaration to

increase our contributions to our forces stationed in Europe would have sufficed to obliterate the negative impact of Canada's 1970 force-cutting exercise.

It may well be asked — will the decision to cancel the CAST brigade commitment to Norway undermine the otherwise pro-NATO message of the White Paper? For anyone who knows the origin of the CAST commitment — and that includes all of our NATO allies — the answer will be "no". The Norwegians will certainly regret the withdrawal of this demonstration of support, particularly from a fellow "northern" NATO member state with whom particularly close political ties exist. Indeed the Norwegian Government is asking that, before Canada drops the CAST commitment, some other means be found of filling the gap thereby created. However, it is no secret that the CAST commitment was born, not out of response to a perceived military need, but out of political expediency — the need, in 1970, to take the curse off our much resented reduction in forces to NATO by inventing a not very onerous obligation to come to Norway's aid in times of rising

tension. It was a political obligation almost impossible to fulfil, since it is inconceivable that Canada would ever exacerbate a situation of rising tension by the despatch of such a force — and of course Norway has obligated itself not to allow foreign forces on its soil in peacetime. In addition, last year's exercise "Brave Lion" proved (after more than 15 years of not testing the concept) that Canada could airlift the CAST Brigade to Norway only over several weeks and then could not sustain it for combat duty. No one need therefore mourn (except possibly the Norwegians) the dropping of a commitment that was politically motivated in the first place and not militarily sustainable in practice — and some pains have been taken to maintain a support obligation to Norway

will involve an increase in specially trained personnel from approximately 350 for four conventional boats to 2500 for 10 nuclear boats. Nor can we now, by the device of a White Paper devoid of cost figures, pretend that we can go for this expensive nuclear submarine option without sacrifice of other parts of our Maritime defences — or in fact without distorting the entire procurement picture of all three services. Indeed, the remarkable, if not incredible feature of the White Paper is that it could sketch out a 15-year blueprint for our Armed Forces while devoting only one short paragraph to funding. Virtually all the so-called data on costs have been embodied in various leaks from National Defence or its Minister; there is nothing of substance in the White Paper

almost certainly turn out to be at least twice and probably three times as expensive as forecast in the White Paper when special shore-side facilities and specially-trained personnel are taken into account, can happen only at the expense of other forces committed to the integrated NATO forces or NORAD. Our NATO partners are almost certain to conclude that the decision is a step away from collective defence towards a "fortress America" concept — or at least a "fortress Canada" concept — because of the ambivalence surrounding our desire to assert sovereignty in our Arctic waters no less against Americans than Russians. It must be apparent to all of our Allies that the addition of 10-12 Canadian nuclear submarines spread across the Atlantic, Arctic and Pacific theatres is not likely to alter substantially the Allied deterrent power in any of these areas and that the real reason must lie in either a desire to play in a big-league naval scenario or to serve some almost undeclared Canadian national purpose. The thrust seems more political than military.

In another sense, too, the decision may well be seen by Allies as a strategic departure — and by Canadians as well, once they reflect on the problem. Canada's strategic aim in the Atlantic, re-iterated in the latest White Paper, is to be able to supply Europe in the event of war by keeping the sea lanes from North America open. The greatest threat today to surface shipping is from sea-skimming, anti-shipping missiles that can be fired from air, sea or sub-sea delivery systems. The threat can be countered by automatic systems deployable on naval surface vessels, and these today provide the greatest protection for convoys that modern technology

On the whole, the long range posture for Canada sketched in the White Paper should give neither Canadians nor Allies much cause for criticism. The exception is the item on which all interest appears to be currently focused — namely, the proposal to acquire 10 to 12 nuclear powered submarines for deployment around our coasts in a 3-ocean strategy.

by being ready to consider deployment of our Allied Command Europe (Land) contribution to a Northern Region role.

Does this mean that, on the assumption that our withdrawal of the CAST commitment can be rationalized to the satisfaction of our allies, there will be no international implications to the changes in force composition outlined in the White Paper? With one exception — and it is a major one — the answer is probably "yes". On the whole, the long range posture for Canada sketched in the White Paper should give neither Canadians nor Allies much cause for criticism. The exception is the time on which all interest appears to be currently focused — namely, the proposal to acquire 10 to 12 nuclear powered submarines for deployment around our coasts in a 3-ocean strategy.

If we enjoyed an economy in which cost was no consideration, there might be something to be said for a maritime force structure that incorporated a large component of the latest technology — available, according to its proponents, only in nuclear powered submarines. But we do not live in such an economy. National Defence has just completed a conventional submarine acquisition "source qualification" competition in which the entire emphasis was on cost-cutting, including staffing. It defies logic that six months later there should be a Government decision to choose a submarine option that

itself other than a vague undertaking to raise the national defence spending by 2% per annum in real terms over a 15-year planning period. This figure says little enough, since it represents a level of spending and inflation-proof increases well below what had been earlier promised.

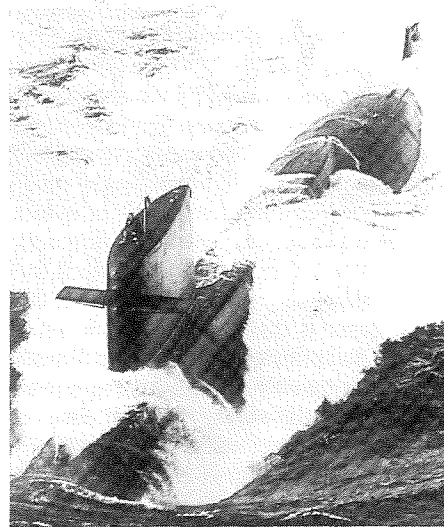
Our Allies will reason that the costly nuclear submarine proposal, which will



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can provide. Canada's latest frigates and updated destroyers will be partially equipped for this protective role. If, however, we abandon the procurement of the third batch of 8 "NATO" anti-missile frigates in favour of nuclear powered submarines, we shall have fundamentally altered the thrust of Canadian naval strategy from countering the missile threat to destroying the platform from which the missiles would be launched. It is ironic that we should choose to abandon the one defensive system specifically designed to counter the threat now accorded the highest priority in Alliance strategy. In short, we would move to a hunter-killer submarine role from our traditional surface role. Fair enough, if we could deploy substantial numbers of hunter-killer submarines in addition to augmenting our surface ship complement. To consider such a strategy with the limited number of such boats that we could afford is quite another matter.

Most puzzling of all is the argument that somehow we need nuclear powered submarines to protect our sovereignty in the Arctic, allegedly because only such submarines can give us the under-ice capability to be able to hunt down and identify alien intruders in the Arctic waters we consider



French RUBIS.

sovereign territory. In the first place, it is not at all clear why nuclear powered submarines are needed to do a surveillance job equally well done by a combination of fixed sensors and conventional submarines. One can only conclude that the hunter-killer role in the Atlantic and Pacific is the real aim of the policy. Secondly, and this is the key question — why would the Canadian Government advocate acquisition of offshore nuclear-

powered submarines when there is a perfectly adequate "hybrid" system, entirely of Canadian manufacture available from at least two technologies — both the product of Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd.? The first is a nuclear battery which can be incorporated in a diesel-electric driven submarine to give the submarine indefinite under-ice capability at low to moderate speeds; the second is an adaptation of AECL's Slowpoke reactor, widely used as a teaching tool throughout Canada, to give approximately the same under-ice capability. Not only is there thus available a "made in Canada" solution, but one with major offshore sales potential, since nearly all of the world's non-nuclear submarine fleets would be eager to buy an "add on" system which would give them unlimited underwater capability without the give-away need to snort for battery recharging.

It has been said that the "hybrid" has been rejected because it cannot give enough speed or sustained under-ice operations to stem the allegedly strong currents of the Arctic. With respect, this is not a valid conclusion since the Canadian hybrid technology will permit speeds of 16-18 knots for up to several hours — sufficient to pass through any high current narrows and the fact is that, with rare exceptions, Arctic tides are not strong. In any event, sustained high underwater (and under-ice) speeds are simply not feasible for either hunter or hunted in the confined and often narrow waters of the Northwest Passage.

Fortunately, this Canadian solution to a peculiarly Canadian problem is not excluded simply because the White Paper proclaims the intention to acquire offshore full nuclear propelled submarines. A careful reading of the document shows that there will be no contract award for submarines before a thorough costing of the full nuclear option has been undertaken and in any event not before 1990. In other words, the White Paper is the beginning of a process, not the end, and in no sense amounts to a decision to proceed with procurement of any of the items described in it. It is to be hoped that the bold tri-service procurement plan outlined in it will not be opposed or seriously delayed simply because the Government has been fit to include in it one proposal that lacks the logic and good sense of the rest. ✍

*A commanding officer of motor torpedo boats during World War II, Ross Campbell was Ambassador to NATO and Chairman of Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. and is currently a member of the Senior Editor board of **bout de papier**. (This article first appeared in the July/August 1987 issue of *Aerospace Canada International*.)*

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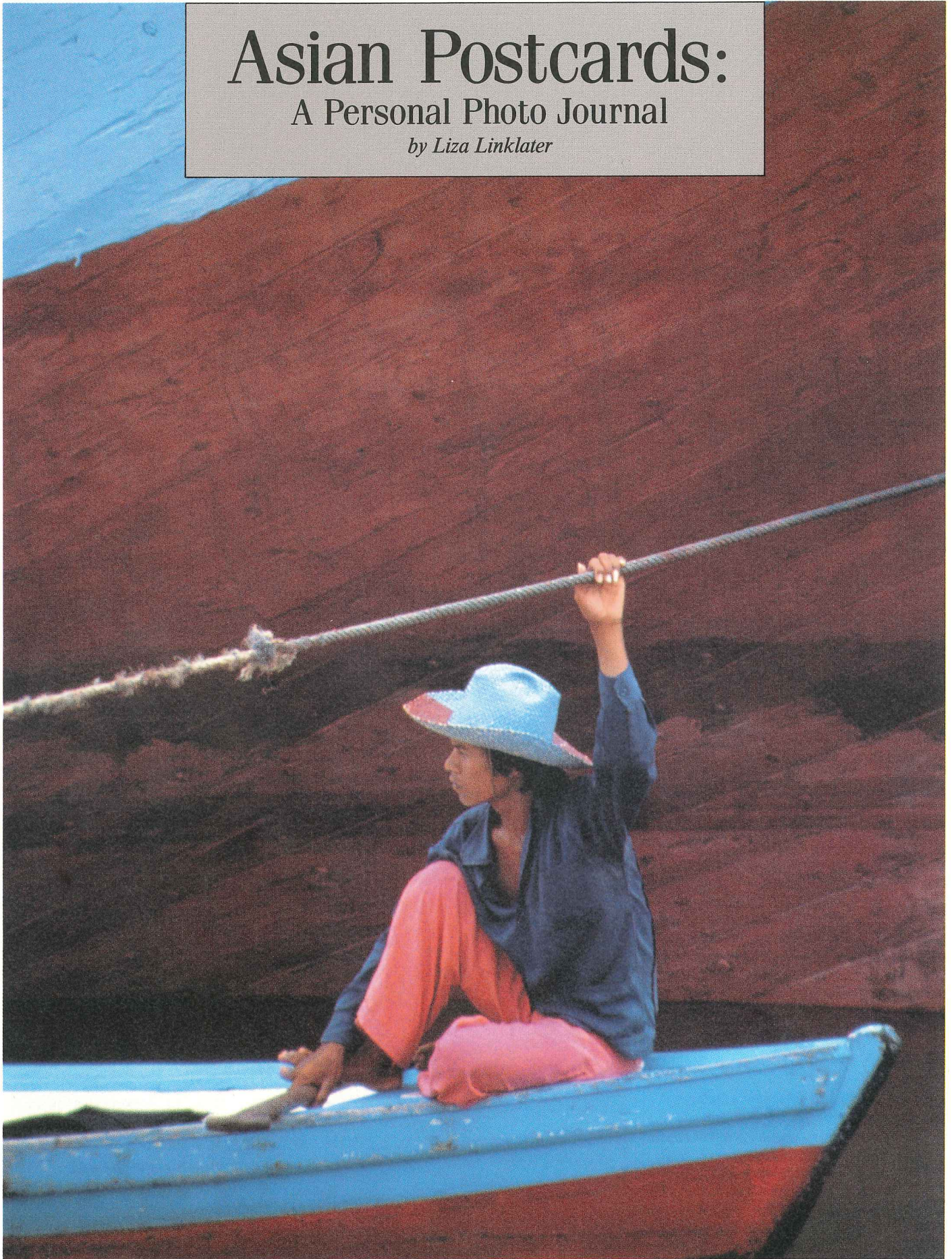
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Asian Postcards:

A Personal Photo Journal

by Liza Linklater





PREVIOUS PAGE:

This photo was taken in Jakarta, Indonesia down at the Suna Kelapa, the old Dutch port where you can see more sailing ships, the magnificent wooden Buginese Makassar schooners, than you ever thought existed. This area was the first place we visited in Jakarta. The reason this man is dressed to match the boats (the big and the small one) is because the colour of each boat signifies its owners colours and his position as an employee.

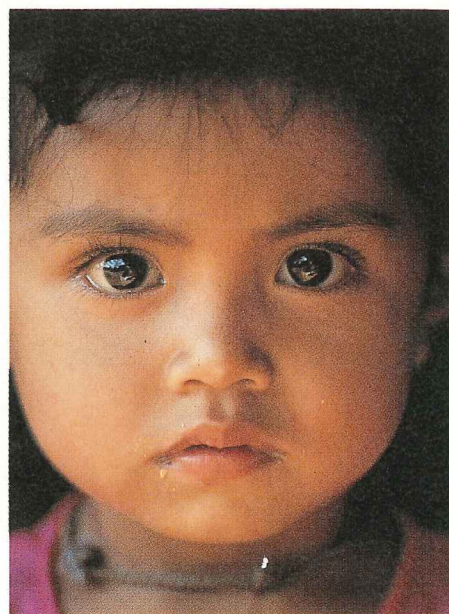
Back in Canada, the photo won first prize in a national photo contest, in which part of the prize was a trip back to Asia (which was, of course, my main reason for entering in the first place.)

RIGHT:

This beautiful Lao refugee child was waiting with many others at the medical clinic in Phanat Nikhom refugee camp near Bangkok, and I couldn't resist photographing her. Besides her beauty, she stood out because of her pink party dress that must have been sent by relatives now living in the West. She looked so different from the rest of the children in the camp, and there are so many children living there.

TOP:

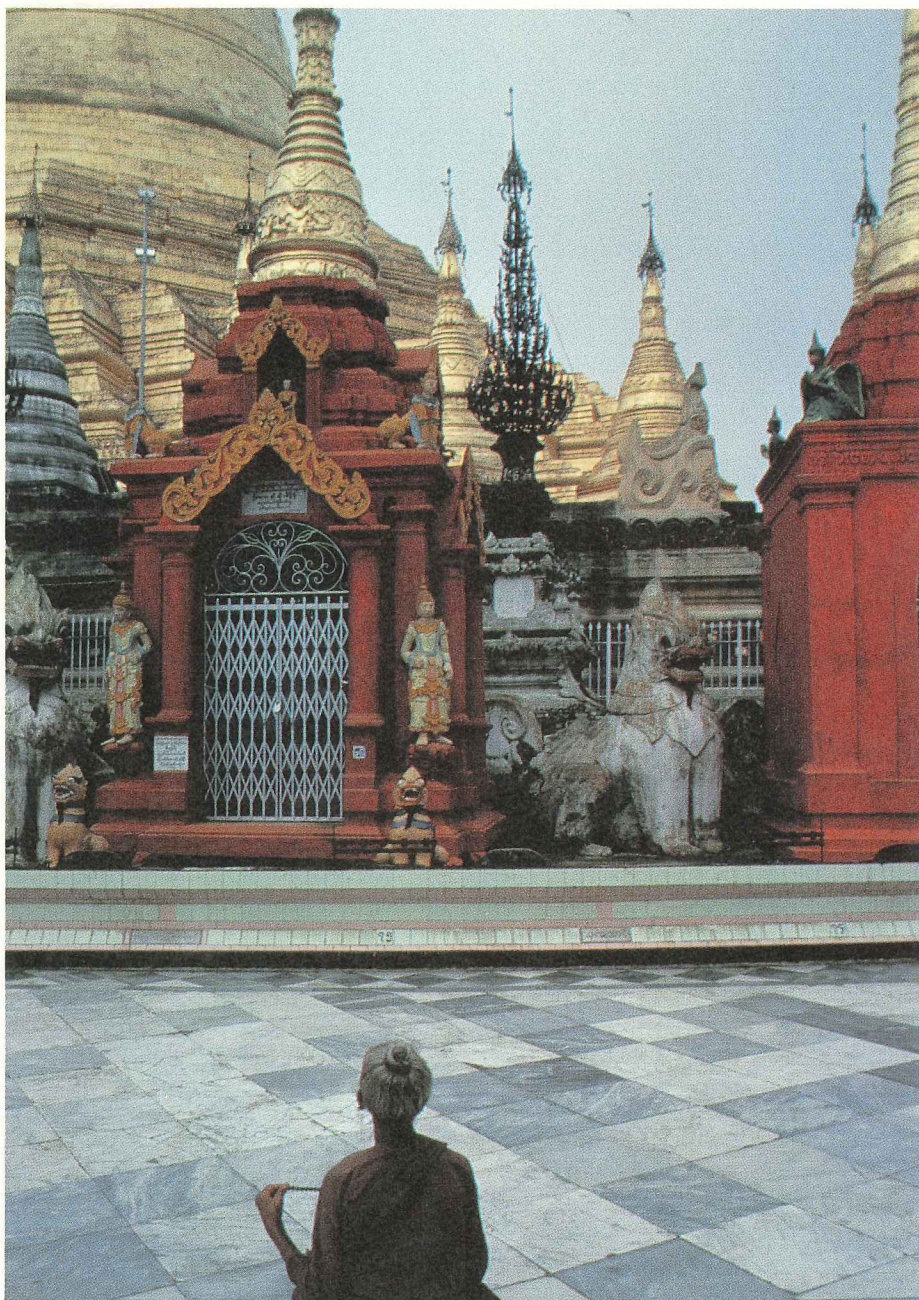
While on a long stroll around the inside of the immense Forbidden City in Beijing, I photographed this cleaner in front of one of its giant doors.



"Photography is a system of visual editing. At bottom, it is a matter of surrounding with a frame a portion of one's cone of vision, while standing in the right place at the right time. Like chess, or writing, it is a matter of choosing from among given possibilities, but in the case of photography the number of possibilities is not finite but infinite."

John Szarkowski
Museum of Modern Art
New York

Indeed, the multiplicity of subjects one can photograph is never-ending and I have found that photographing in Asia is the most intense and rewarding of experiences precisely *because* of its diversity. Waiting around every corner is a scene that longs to be recorded, an event that must be seen by others, a smiling face, a turbaned head, a flash of vibrant colour in someone's dress, a pretty face, a rugged, lined one... I had travelled and photographed in Asia several years before we went to live in Bangkok, Thailand on a



TOP:
A Mien (Yao) mother and child walk, under the hot Thai sun at midday, down one of the dirt roads in a refugee camp in Thailand. The hill tribe people are so proud and some love to be photographed, which surprised me. The experience is probably a diversion from their confined lives in the camps. Sometimes, I brought back the photographs of them on my next visit and I often bought the crafts they had to sell. It is always nice to meet the same refugees again in Canada as we have done on several occasions.

TOP LEFT:
It was a rainy day in Rangoon. We were at one of the most astonishing religious sites in the world — the Shwedagon Pagoda. It was June, in the middle of the rainy season. A monsoon cloud had just passed by and drenched this elderly woman who later sat down with her worry beads to reflect and pray at this, the most sacred Buddhist temple in Burma. The Shwedagon is over 2500 years old with 8000 gold plates covering it and more than 5000 diamonds and 2000 other precious and semi-precious stones encrusted on its 100-metre spire.

One is transported back to "medieval" times while climbing up the wide, enclosed stairways to the main stupa, as vendors sell all kinds of antique treasures, fortunetellers foresee the futures of clients, neon lights glow on Buddha images and much, much more.



LEFT:
I spent two weeks in Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) in Vietnam. In such a short space as this, one can't begin to relate even the surface of what was seen there, even during such a short period of time. I saw this young man on my first afternoon walk. He was sorting through macaroni noodles as they dried in the sun. I guess what made the trip so fascinating was being allowed to go to a country with such a varied history at a time when most foreigners were not being allowed in.

two-year posting. While living there, we were fortunate enough to re-visit countries I'd travelled through before and to explore new vistas.

Each time I photograph, and particularly when I photograph in other cultures, I discover that "what" I take photographs of is not as important as "how" I get them. In other words, the personal dynamics of the photographic process becomes intensified. I have always felt that the way one treats those whose permission we have asked, or even the onlookers, colours the entire photographic atmosphere. If we treat people with respect, it is usually returned.

The following photographs were selected from thousands taken during my two years in Thailand. One of the greatest pleasures of photography for me is the access it provides into other people's lives — like the refugees I met in camps all over Thailand, the wonderful Thai people I met each day, the friendly and often curious citizens I encountered on various trips throughout the region. And, of course, the landscape vistas are embedded in our thoughts forever once we have tried to immortalize them on film — the jungles, the mountains, the villages, the monsoons, the cityscapes, and the great wonders of the world.

For those of you who have lived or travelled in Asia, I hope these photographs bring back fond memories, as they did for me while writing the captions; and for those of you who haven't been to this part of the world I hope you enjoy the short journey they will take you on.

If I had to choose one region of the world as my favourite, I would have no second thoughts — it would be Asia. There is, quite simply, more variety there than in any other region of the world. In terms of culture, religion, architecture, dress and food, Asia has everything you could ask for, and more than you could ever imagine.

Liza Linklater is currently an editor at Ottawa Magazine and Ottawa Woman and also works as a freelance photographer and writer.

RIGHT:

After a bumpy 60-km jeep ride north from Mandalay, Burma, we arrived at the small, sleepy town of Maymyo. Maymyo is one of my favourite places in Asia, a hill station that on the surface appears not to have changed since the days of the Raj. It's back to the era of the stagecoach or mindlay as it is known, which still operates as a modern day taxi. Most people walk or ride bicycles along the wide, tree-lined streets past the large British-style houses which are similar to those found in small-town Ontario. Many of the local residents are Indians, a significant number of whom are descendants of Indian soldiers who were stationed here during British rule.



The Inimitable Esther Heilbuth

by Terry Jones

She was already a legend when I arrived in Copenhagen — Esther Heilbuth, translator extraordinary and superb Canadian representative. She had joined our service immediately after the Second World War, when the Canadian Embassy consisted of an office in the basement of the British Embassy, and in the succeeding years she became invaluable, both to us and to the British. She created the "Heilbuth Digest", an English-version summary of the Danish newspapers — all the news of any importance fit to print — which formed an indispensable part of our information base. Indeed, so invaluable was she that the British tried to lure her into their employ.

Now Esther was a staunch anglophile, British-educated and with an admiration for things British which she had absorbed on the hockey fields of British girls' schools. She was, however, a woman of principle and a proud member of the Canadian team. So in her inimitable way, she worked out the "Heilbuth Compromise"; she worked for both.

The range of her interests was remarkable. Her delightful apartment was graced by a museum quality Louise XIV *escritoire* signed by the master craftsman who had fashioned it, and one of the favourite paintings which belonged to her family now hangs at the top of the grand staircase at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a famous Rembrandt self-portrait; yet her passion was sports, particularly field hockey, which she played as a girl. Now that she can no longer participate in field sports, she climbs Kilimanjaro and travels. Her log book has hundreds of flying hours logged in, dating back to the year dot. So it is that many pilots, on learning that she is on board, have been happy to invite her into the cockpit to show her the controls and chat about the "good old days" of flying.

One evening, going home late from the theatre, Esther fell victim to a thug, who mugged her for her purse, knocking her down in the process and breaking her one good hip, the other having been broken on the playing field 50 years ago. We were all enraged at the lout who had struck her, and deeply upset that she had been hurt. And consternation reigned at the British and Canadian embassies the next morning, when we heard that the author of the Heilbuth Digest was hospitalized. Our crisis was short-lived, however, as we learned that one of Esther's first acts on entering hospital had been to telephone a friend and colleague to

arrange temporary replacement services while she was *hors de combat*. Nevertheless, we made longer term arrangements because we were expecting an absence of at least three months, given the gravity of her operation.

Not a bit of it. The day after her operation, Esther was practising walking the corridors of the Royal Copenhagen Hospital, and was only persuaded with difficulty to leave an attempt on the stairs until she was stronger. In 6 weeks she was back at the Embassies, and three months after the accident, she stopped using the cane which the nurses had insisted upon because, as she confided to me, "It makes me feel old!"

She was in hospital over the New Year, so my wife and I visited her early New Year's Eve, to cheer her up, quite unnecessarily as it turned out. She was in a ward with 5 other patients and at a mere 64 she was the baby of the group. "The old duck there" Esther confided to us, "is over 90 and ga-ga, and that one was 85 last year and completely deaf." She went the full circle, describing all

the patients, and then informed us, "I keep my mind alive by passing messages to the one who can't hear or interpreting for the ga-ga old dear. It's really rather fun." We departed feeling greatly cheered that she was in such good spirits, and as we left passed her a bottle of fine old madeira. On our next visit, she told us the madeira had been a great success. That night the nurses thought they had died: no calls for bed pans, no demands for water. The six of them had finished the entire bottle and had slept the night through, dead drunk.

On January 1, 1988 Esther celebrated forty years with the Canadian Embassy in Copenhagen. If there were any justice in this world, we would have made her a Companion to the Order of Canada. As it is, I invite those Canadians who have had the good fortune to work with her over the years to write their congratulations to her. Congratulations, Esther, we wish you well.

Terry Jones has served in Sydney, Port of Spain and Accra and Copenhagen. He is currently Deputy Director, South America Relations Division, External Affairs.

A Matter of Principle

by David M. Edwards

There has always been a fuzzy line when it comes to the limits of consular assistance to be provided to Canadians abroad. There is the constant judgement call which must be made between following our consular mandate by providing legitimate assistance to Canadians in distress abroad and the countervailing principle that one must guard the taxpayers money and not let travellers freeloader off the government. Regrettably the tendency for the Department to stand on a matter of principle even at the price of appearing insensitive or callous can sometimes exact a harsh toll on a hapless individual. The following short example gives an idea.

The case involved an individual who had come to India as one of the flower children in the late 1960's, and who had wandered around the country constantly elevated on an abundance of the psychotropic substances which are so readily and cheaply available in that country. He had eventually fallen onto hard times, however, and in 1970 had been repatriated to Canada. The money was not recovered, and this remained on the record.

The lure of India proved too much for our intrepid adventurer and a few years later he was back again. This time he threw remain-

ing caution to the wind. Ultimately the accumulated effect of many years in an altered state of consciousness, took its toll. By late 1983, our fellow was clearly in bad shape. We began receiving pleading requests from charitable organizations and concerned individuals in south India that our Canadian was totally indigent, in failing health, mentally incapacitated and sleeping under bridges. I requested on more than one occasion to headquarters that the situation had become so pathetic that on humanitarian grounds we should repatriate. Each time we received the hard line from Ottawa. No repatriation. If our desperately sick vagrant had relatives who would front the money, we could assist in arranging transportation back to Canada. Otherwise he was completely on his own.

A few weeks after the last rejection of repatriation we received a message from south India. This time it was not another request to help our distressed and impoverished Canadian. We were notified by the authorities that he had died ... of starvation.

David Edwards is Vice-President of PAFSO and has served in New Delhi. He is currently working on the China Desk, Asia Branch at CIDA.

NATO: *Reviewed, Revised and Renewed*

by Mitchell Sharp

What I have to say about the review of Canada's participation in NATO, following the election of the first Trudeau government in 1968, will be my personal recollections. They will be of a general character as befits a Minister. In the nature of things, these recollections may be less objective than the analyses of outside observers like historians or even of inside observers like bureaucrats. What I can contribute to understanding of what happened during that momentous period in the history of Canadian foreign policy is a description of the motivation and reflections of one of the principal players, the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

In the election campaign of 1968, the Liberal Party under its new leader had

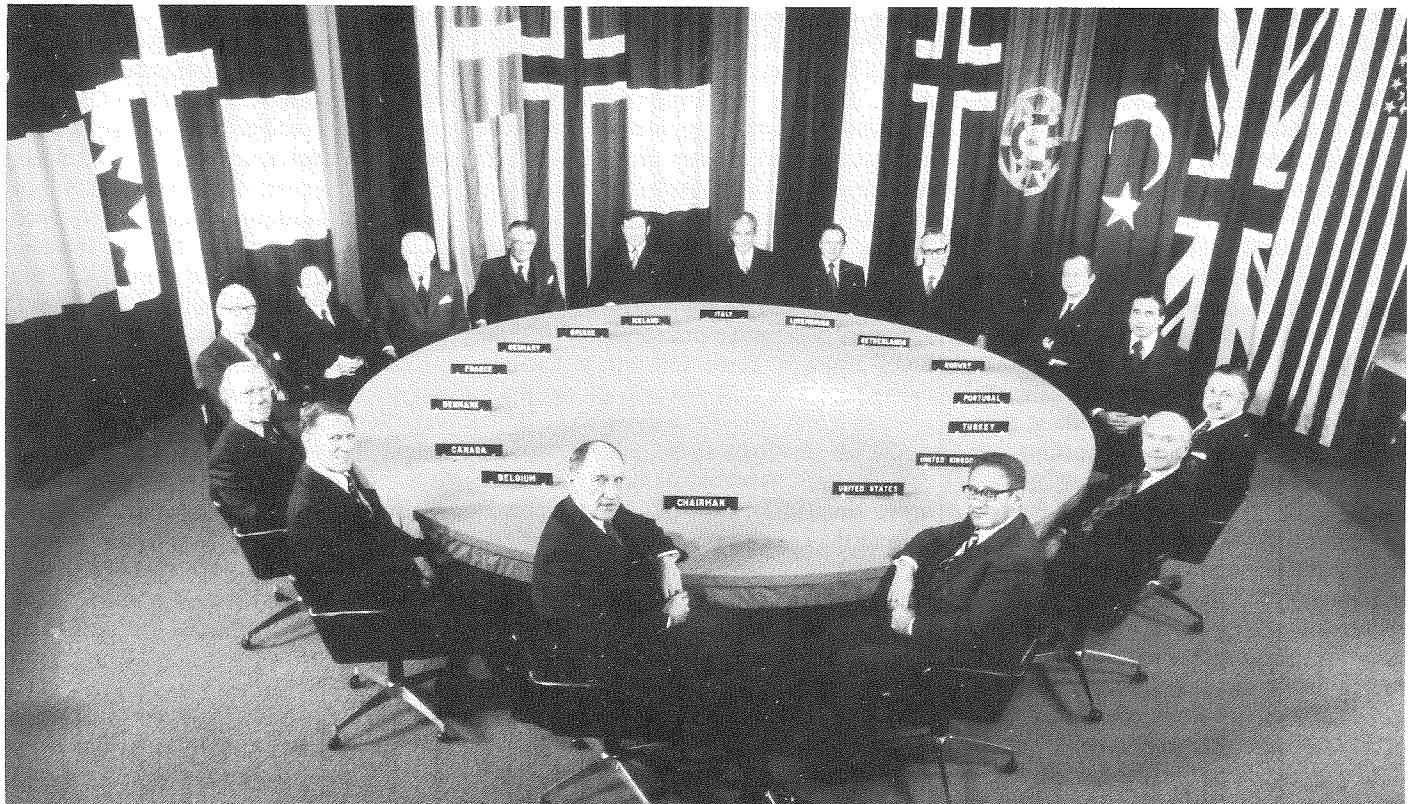
promised a review of foreign policy, particularly in relation to membership in NATO. As newly appointed Secretary of State for External Affairs and at the request of Prime Minister Trudeau, I helped to draft the planks in the platform. I am frank to admit that I would have preferred not to include special mention of Canada's membership in NATO in the 1968 election platform, since I did not have doubts about that aspect of our foreign policy. I did not raise objections because I was confident of the outcome and thought that a thorough review would help to clear the air.

During the Pearson régime, some ministers may have raised the subject in the Cabinet Committee on External Affairs and Defence of which I was not a member; there was no serious debate in Cabinet itself or among ministers. As a matter of fact, foreign policy was seldom discussed in Cabinet. Mr. Pearson and Mr. Martin settled those professional matters between themselves. It was only when the amateurs succeeded

them, namely Mr. Trudeau and myself, that foreign policy emerged from time to time on the Cabinet agenda. I can recall only one discussion in the Pearson Cabinet, a discussion that followed a public speech by Walter Gordon in May, 1967, in which he advocated Canada's withdrawal from NATO, foreshadowing the position to be taken by several ministers of the Trudeau cabinet. As a member of Cabinet, I can say with some confidence that Mr. Gordon's speech did not reflect cabinet thinking at that time. At policy conferences of the Liberal Party there was very little debate of any kind about NATO and what debate there was reflected the great esteem accorded to Mr. Pearson as one of the architects of the Atlantic Alliance.

In the minority Parliaments that followed the 1963 and 1965 elections, the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives in the Commons supported Canada's membership in NATO. The NDP members, with occasional exceptions, were opposed. In those years, the House of Commons seldom held formal

NATO Ministerial Meeting, Brussels, December, 1973.



debates on foreign policy and when it did there was no indication of serious doubts by Liberal speakers on the backbenches about our continued membership in NATO or about the extent of our participation.

When Canadian political parties elect leaders they are more concerned about the personalities than about the policies of the contenders for office. Nevertheless, I mention in passing that in his campaign for the leadership of the Liberal Party and in his speeches to the delegates in 1968, Mr. Trudeau made only passing references to foreign policy and did not anticipate the comprehensive foreign policy review he would advocate after he became Prime Minister. Views on foreign policy by the candidates were not issues in the contest, even though Paul Martin, also a candidate, was then Secretary of State for External Affairs and Mr. Trudeau, just six years before, had condemned Prime Minister Pearson for having withdrawn his objections to the presence of nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. Mr. Kierans was the only candidate who took a hard position against Canadian participation in NATO.

Certainly, there was no public clamour, in the press or elsewhere, to review our NATO commitments. A public opinion poll, taken when the review was underway and published on December 11, 1968, gave the following results.

At an early stage of the foreign policy review, I asked a group of academics to meet with me and invited them to let me have their suggestions about the future of Canadian foreign policy. Characteristically, they said they preferred to criticize what the government proposed to do.

The Question:

"As you may know, Canadian troops are stationed in Europe as part of NATO. Do you think they should continue there, or should the Canadian Government bring them back?"

In the academic community there were, (as there always are) professors who criticized various aspects of Canadian foreign policy but although there were critics of our NATO policy, there was no consensus that

	NATIONAL	Quebec	Ontario	West
Continue there	64%	55%	66%	71%
Called back	23	32	22	20
Qualified	3	—	1	5
Don't know	10	13	11	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%

the time had come to leave NATO or to move our troops out of Europe. At an early stage of the foreign policy review, I asked a group of academics to meet with me and invited them to let me have their suggestions about the future of Canadian foreign policy. Characteristically, they said they preferred to criticize what the government proposed to do.

One is bound to reach the conclusion that Mr. Trudeau wanted a review, not because of pressure from the Party or from public opinion, informal or otherwise, but because he was not ready to accept without question the structure of Canadian foreign policy as developed under his predecessor, Mr. Pearson. Some go further and hold the view, which I do not share, that Mr. Trudeau wanted to make a clean break with Mr. Pearson's foreign policies, which they said he did not admire. As later events were to show, Mr. Trudeau's support for a review came in the main from close associates and relative newcomers to the cabinet — especially Gérard Pelletier, Jean Marchand, Eric Kierans and Donald Macdonald — who, at the time, favoured either withdrawal from NATO or withdrawal of our troops from Europe.

The official review was carried on in the government and in Parliament. On one occasion, Mr. Kierans went public with his views on NATO in the belief that ministers could differ publicly on matters that had not yet been decided in cabinet. As Minister of External Affairs, I felt myself bound to reply and so did the Minister of National Defence. The result was public confusion and acute embarrassment to the government.

The House of Commons was the first to report on the question of Canada's participation in NATO. On my initiative as Secretary of State for External Affairs, the House on January 16, 1969, approved an Order of Reference to the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence authorizing a thorough review of Canada's policy with respect to defence and external affairs. On March 26, three months later, the Committee, after 24 meetings in Canada, travels to Cyprus, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, Sweden, France and Belgium, hearing witnesses in Canada and meeting and discussing with many prominent persons

at home and abroad, issued a preliminary report and included the following as its first two recommendations:

1. Canada should continue to play an effective role in the preservation of peace through membership in NATO.
2. Canada should continue to maintain forces in Europe as a contribution to the collective defence arrangements of NATO.

The Report also included recommendations which assumed the continuation of then existing numbers of our NATO contingent in Europe and of the roles to which they had been assigned. The Chairman of the Committee, Ian Wahn, did not agree with these recommendations, favouring instead, I am informed, what can only be described as an extreme isolationist policy for Canada. Nevertheless, his name appeared as Chairman on the interim report when it was submitted to the House of Commons.

What Mr. Trudeau had in mind, it became clear from the outset, was a thorough, fundamental, no-holds-barred review of all the options for Canada, extending from neutrality and non-alignment at one end to a continuation of the existing level of participation in NATO at the other.

Just how much influence the Standing Committee's Report had on the government's decision is one of those unanswerable questions. The fact that it did favour more or less the *status quo* was evidence to the members of the cabinet — useful to me, as the Cabinet Committee's meetings were drawing to a close, for example — that Liberal M.P.s with a special interest in external affairs and defence, who formed the majority of the Committee, as well as Progressive Conservative M.P.s, supported NATO.

Anticipating events, the Department of

External Affairs, before the election, had prepared a foreign policy review. At the time, I was not aware of this paper. Only later did I learn of its contents. It was shown to the Prime Minister and considered by him as not fully serving his purpose. What Mr. Trudeau had in mind, it became clear from the outset, was a thorough, fundamental, no-holds-barred review of all the options for Canada, extending from neutrality and non-alignment at one end to a continuation of the existing level of participation in NATO at the other.

On April 8, 1969, the Alliance was 20 years old and it was intended to mark the occasion at a meeting in Washington. For obvious reasons, it was desirable that the Canadian Government make its decision about NATO before that date, which helped to concentrate the debate.

The question was referred to the Cabinet Committee on Priorities and Planning, presided over by the Prime Minister. Senior military advisers as well as senior public servants from External Affairs and National Defence were in attendance. The debate was orderly and thorough as the Prime Minister had promised. He, himself, probed and questioned, without revealing his personal preference, as was characteristic of his behaviour as Chairman of Cabinet. Every assumption upon which policy had been based was brought forward and questioned. Neutrality and non-alignment — unthinkable alternatives in the minds of some, particularly the military — were rejected only after serious examination. Careful consideration was given to the alternative of a defence arrangement only with the United States.

In the end, after weeks of debate, it became clear that there was no consensus in favour of any of the alternatives to membership in NATO. It also became clear that several ministers had strong objections to our existing policy with respect to NATO. They took the view, as I understood them, that we had little influence in NATO, were not essential to the survival of the Alliance and our participation diverted personnel and resources away from what should be our primary purpose, namely safeguarding and strengthening Canadian sovereignty on the North American Continent. Some of the ministers favoured withdrawal from NATO. Others could accept membership but wanted Canadian troops brought back to Canada to serve in North America. The great majority of the ministers were not convinced by these arguments to change direction. They favoured membership in NATO and the presence of Canadian troops in Europe as continuing to be in the best interests of Canada in terms of security as well as external political relationships.



So it came down to a question of the number of troops in Europe. As Secretary of State for External Affairs, I was reconciled to some reduction for financial reasons. It would have been quite unreasonable, at a time of financial stringency, to expect the government to ask Parliament to approve increases in defence expenditures of hundreds of millions of dollars to equip our 10,000 troops in Europe to fulfil the tasks to which they had been assigned. In addition, I felt, as did many of my colleagues, that a reduction could also help to support the argument that European members of NATO which had experienced a "magnificent recovery" should be making a relatively larger contribution to their own defence.

What was important to me was that the Canadian presence in Europe should continue to be substantial and not merely token.

The selection of a 50% reduction was in the nature of things somewhat arbitrary. What was important to me was that the Canadian presence in Europe should continue to be substantial and not merely token.

Having made the decision, when was it to be announced? The Minister of National

Defence and I favoured an immediate announcement, coinciding more or less with the 20th anniversary of NATO, that Canada had decided, after mature and careful consideration, to stay in the Alliance with troops in Europe. The public announcement of the reduction, we suggested, should be made some months later after our Allies had been warned of our intentions and had an opportunity of discussing with us how the reduction could be announced with least damage to the Alliance.

Our advice was not accepted. On April 3, 1969, Mr. Trudeau made an announcement which included these words: "The Canadian Government intends, in consultation with Canada's allies, to take early steps to bring about a planned and phased reduction in the size of the Canadian forces in Europe." The size of the cut was to be made known to our Allies a month or so later at a meeting of the Defence Planning Committee of NATO. In other words, we consulted our Allies about the implementation of the cut, not about when the cut should be announced, the size of which came as a shock to them.

The result was what Mr. Cadieux, the Minister of National Defence, and I had feared — strong criticism from our Allies in both the United States and Europe about the lack of consultation and a widespread impression that notwithstanding the continuing support for NATO expressed by the Prime Minister in his April 3, 1969, announcement, Canada had lost interest in

NATO and that this was the first step in a policy of withdrawal, similar to the policy then being advocated by Senator Mike Mansfield for the United States. I did not enjoy the 20th anniversary meeting in Washington on April 10, or the periodical meetings of NATO Foreign Ministers that followed in the year or two after our blunt announcement.

In due course, it came to be realized, of course, that it did not make much difference to the military posture of the Alliance whether Canada had 10,000 or 5,000 military personnel in Europe. What mattered was the strength of our commitment to joint defence in the event of conflict. In other words, was our 1969 reduction what we said it was, namely an adjustment justified by financial stringencies supported by the changing pattern of relationships within the Alliance, or did it reflect declining support for NATO in Canada and foreshadow further withdrawals?

In other words, we consulted our Allies about the implementation of the cut, not about when the cut should be announced, the size of which came as a shock to them.

The White Paper on Defence, released in August, 1971, and signed by the Honourable Donald Macdonald, who had been one of the leading doubters about NATO, was reassuring. As had already been indicated by the prime Minister, NATO was assigned priority below protection of Canadian sovereignty and defence of North America in the deployment of our defence forces, but support for the principle of collective defence was reaffirmed without qualification. There was a flat assertion that "the government has no plans for further reductions" in the strength of Canadian Forces assigned to Allied Command Europe.

Although it took time to implement the 1969 decision and this caused some confusion about the direction of Canadian policy, the statements of positive support by the Prime Minister and by Donald Macdonald as Minister of National Defence for Canada's continued participation in NATO were on the whole reassuring. For the P.M., the question was over. A decision had been made. It was no longer a major issue in Parliament or in the press and, according to Gallup, in a poll taken in August, 1969, a majority of the public — 51% — supported

what the government had done. Many years later, Mr. Trudeau remarked to me that it was truly remarkable that after we had reached our decision on NATO, the issue disappeared.

When the foreign policy review was underway, those of us who had been in government for some years realized that our membership in NATO and the presence of our troops in Europe was more than a statement of military solidarity with our European and American allies. It was a statement of our political relationship in the most general sense. This realization became widespread throughout the government, when in the middle 1970s, an attempt was made to improve economic relations with the European Communities. Although European spokesmen had been too diplomatic to say so, they obviously made a link between trade and Canada's support for NATO. Hence the appearance in "Defence in the 1970s" signed, as I have said, by Donald Macdonald, of these words of justification for Canadian membership in NATO:

"Canadian membership in NATO can thus be justified solely on security and political grounds. Canada has in addition a direct interest in the economic well-being of Western Europe and in the preservation of trading relations with this second ranking Canadian market. In connection with the further development and probable enlargement of the European Economic Community (EEC) Canada is engaging in important negotiations with certain of our allies who are current and prospective members of the EEC. The community of interest we share with these countries through common NATO membership should be a positive factor in these negotiations."

In 1976, a "Framework Agreement" on economic relations between Canada and the European Communities was finally negotiated. To quote from the first preamble, it was "inspired by the common heritage, special affinity and shared aspirations which united Canada and the countries of the European Communities." Membership in NATO represented part of that affinity and those shared aspirations.

Canada's membership in NATO not only survived the review; after the decision was made to stay, support for the Alliance and our participation in it was expressed more frequently and in stronger terms by the Trudeau government than had been heard for many years. This verbal support was not, however, matched by similar material support for our Armed Forces, who found it increasingly difficult from year to year to

discharge their responsibilities either at home or abroad. Our reputation in NATO was therefore never fully restored.

The whole foreign policy review that followed the 1968 election was an extraordinary event that took place because an extraordinary Canadian had become Prime Minister. Never before or since has anything comparable in comprehensiveness been attempted. When it was completed, there was no radical change in the shape or direction of Canadian foreign policy; there were, however, some important innovations and developments in external relations during the Trudeau years that followed the review and arose out of it, such as the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and with the Vatican, the creation of the International Development Research Centre, extension of authority over the coastal waters during the course of negotiations on the Law of the Sea, the inclusion of Canada at the Summit, to name a few.

Many years later, Mr. Trudeau remarked to me that it was truly remarkable that after we had reached our decision on NATO, the issue disappeared.

Ironically, although one of the principal objectives of the review, in the minds of its advocates, was to give a more nationalistic flavour to our foreign policy — and it did have that result — Canada's involvement internationally was extended, not curtailed during the Trudeau years and no Canadian Prime Minister, not even Mr. Pearson himself, was as much involved in international affairs as Mr. Trudeau.

One final point: one of the principal results of the review was, as I have described, to confirm membership in NATO but to reduce the number of Canadian troops stationed in Europe. Without the stimulus of the review, the decision to reduce the numbers would probably not have been made and the size of the reduction might have been different. My personal opinion is that even if Mr. Pearson had continued as Prime Minister he would have found it necessary and expedient to cut back, as did the Trudeau administration. ♣

Mitchell Sharp was Secretary of State for External Affairs from 1968 to 1972. His last appointment was Commissioner of the Northern Pipeline Agency.

Mastering the Public Platform

by Allan Bonner

William Henry Harrison, the 9th president of the United States got up on his inaugural day, gave the longest such speech to date, caught a cold and died. He's the only person I know of to have actually died from speaking in public. But most of us have felt close on many occasions.

In fact psychologists say that speaking is our number one fear. Dying is number seven. If this means that people would rather die than speak in public, that explains the large fees that professional speakers are able to command.

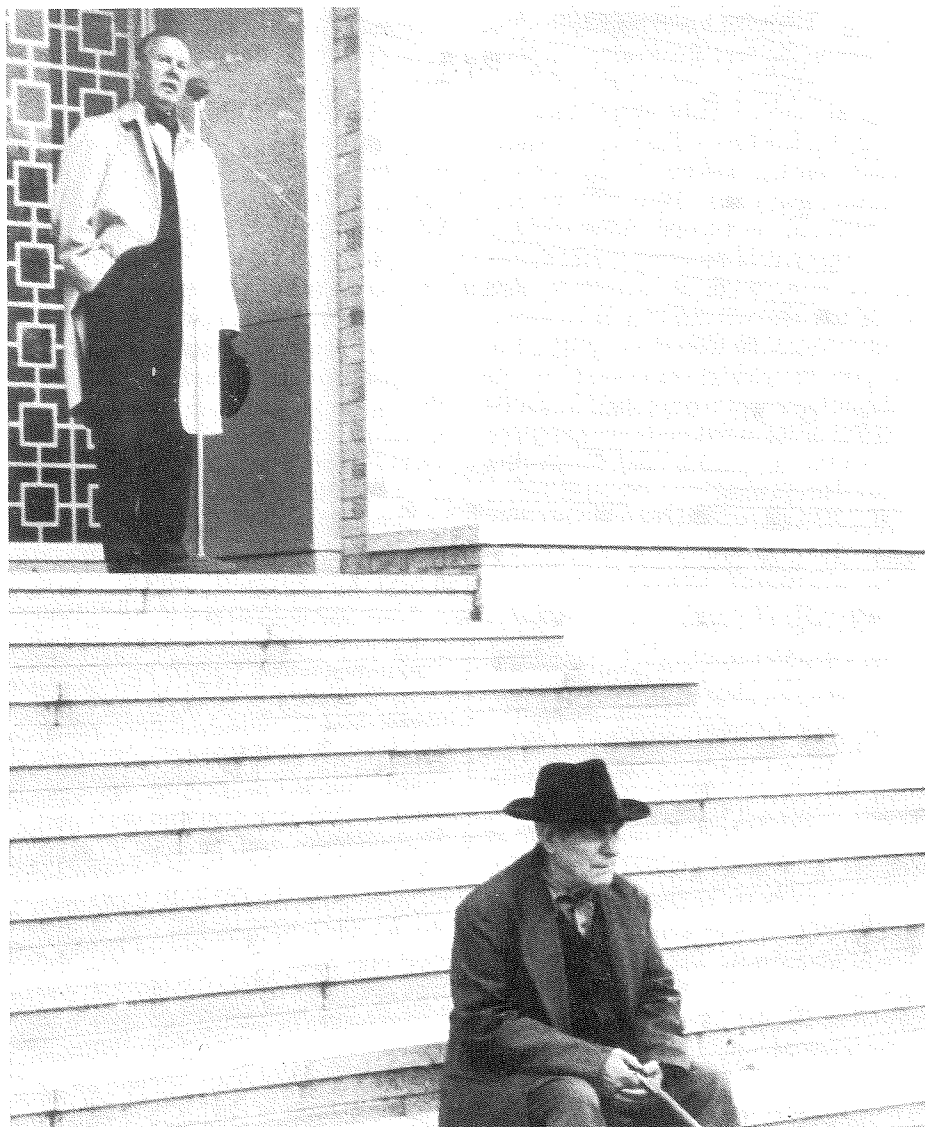
There are other rewards for effective public speakers. Who would argue with the contention that Churchill's oratory helped win World War II? Who would argue with John Kennedy's remark that Churchill marshalled the English language and sent it off to war?

Studies show that effective public speakers win respect and visibility; earn raises, promotions and other financial benefits; build power and success for themselves and their organizations, and are strong and successful managers and executives. Almost all overcome fear and other barriers to develop their abilities. Effective speaking and presenting don't come naturally to anyone; they take training and practice. In the same way that an experienced executive should never issue a signed memo, report or letter without reading and editing it, a speech or presentation should never be given without adequate rehearsal.

Many books are available containing a wonderful combination of sound advice, endless anecdotes, trivia, highly useful 'how to' lists and motivational nonsense more useful for pyramid sales than serious business communication. Would-be speakers must wade into these titles and decide what information suits them. In the meantime here are some short-cuts.

The trivia which opened this article comes from a short and useful beginners book, *Speak Like a Pro* by Margaret M. Bedrosian (Wiley, Toronto, 1987). I have several reasons for recommending this title: I read it first, so those which followed seemed repetitive; it's thankfully short, and it concentrates on practical advice, not pop-psychology or motivation.

That last point is important. The main complaint I hear about executive training in



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the public or private sector is that it's short on content. Most seminars and beginner books seem to be written as if the reader or participant were completely unknowledgeable and lazy. Hence the baby talk and evangelical motivation. Clients I encounter in and out of government know the value of good communication, are well educated, trained and travelled and want a senior-level program. Bedrosian seems to respect the reader and gets to the point quickly. She starts at the beginning ... getting invited to speak somewhere. Instead of a immediate yes, or no, this is the time to gather facts and ask questions:

- Full name of the organization;
- Type of event;
- Length of speech/presentation required;
- Intent of the presentation (i.e.; to inform,

Lester B. Pearson speaking on the campaign trail, 1962

pursuade, teach, inspire, entertain);

- Theme of the event;
 - Audience mood;
 - Audience interest in the topic.
- My clients in the military tell me that "time spent in reconnaissance is seldom wasted." Nowhere is this more true than in public presentations. You must find out about any possible sources of resistance to your presentation and the social chatter topics at coffee in order to build bridges. You have to ask yourself what you want your audience to do when you're finished. Too many speakers go the way of Chinese food after an hour. An effective public speaker is like the famous 'tiny time release pills'. Little ideas stay with

the audience, linger and even days later are released to provoke thought and action. One simple way to achieve this is to end the presentation with the challenge, "So next time you see news reports about topic X, remember my main points today, which are A, B, and C."

In order to hold an audience's attention and motivate them to do something or see things your way, one must remember two old clichés of education which are as true as they are hackneyed: 'start where the student is' and 'tell them what you're going to tell them, tell them, then tell them what you've told them.' Many clients have heard these expressions many times, but are still unable to put them into practice. The reason is they fail to remember that a speech is not a memo, report, performance appraisal, letter or poem. It's a different form of communication requiring different skills — oral not written skills. The spoken word is said and gone, so beginning with the listeners' experience, building bridges to new ideas and repetition for clarity and emphasis are not just highly important, but obligatory.

A good speaker must focus on the benefits the audience will derive from listening and agreeing to the point of view being expressed. Good speakers offer direction, relate to the audience personally and urge them to act. The vast majority of business meetings, presentations and even speeches are boring, and the audience remembers little and does nothing when they're finished. The challenge is to construct a message that doesn't fall into this category. Bedrosian offers a checklist for preparing a speech. It should be used by beginners and all of us who have ever had problems with presentations. It's good to go through all the steps and wait for proficiency to develop before cutting out any procedures:

- Write the closing 'call to action' first.
- Write a high impact opening to get the audience's attention
- Outline the key points of the body of the speech.
- Research (facts, statistics, quotes, examples, anecdotes).
- Put the research where it will support the key points.
- Write out the full text of the speech.
- Rehearse out loud and change any clumsy language.
- Audio tape the next rehearsal for time (add 30% to rehearsal time to judge actual performance time).
- Listen to the tape several times (this is excellent practice for timing, pacing, pitch, emphasis and other elements that you just can't get any other way).
- *Turn the Speech Back into Notes* — no one reads well. Even if you're a diplomat and the press and world leaders hang on

your every word and you need a written record, avoid the written script at all costs.

- Audio tape and rehearse the notes — try headings in upper case with lower case points below.
- Prepare any visual aids needed — be sure they're needed because the audience came to see you. They can watch TV or a movie on their own time.
- Write your own introduction — probably the best advice going. It avoids embarrassing moments between you and the host/chair and gets you presented exactly the way you want.

The raw material is now in place, but the reconnaissance is still not over. It's important to visit the room or hall long before the event. Even if it's your own familiar boardroom, make sure everything works (lights, microphone, visuals) because if anything is going to go wrong, it will be on the day of your presentation. Unfamiliar rooms should be

big or theatrical. You don't need many, but you must have them. In oral communication we have no punctuation. Our gestures must supply the commas, periods, dashes and parentheses. Victor Borge's classic comedy routine where he gives punctuation appropriate sounds and reads a passage complete with audible punctuation won't work for you, but gestures will. Practice in front of a mirror or video camera helps and will add to everyone's communications ability.

Know the Audience

The reason for doing all the reconnaissance is to know your audience and venue. The audience co-creates the speech with you. Each speech is different even if the material is the same. Many novice speakers get nervous because they think the audience wants them to fail for some perverse reason. This isn't true. Most audiences are comprised of busy people who don't want to be bored.

A good speaker must focus on the benefits the audience will derive from listening and agreeing to the point of view being expressed.

checked for acoustics, seating plans (can you be seen and can you see the audience?), non-smoking areas and ventilation. The room should be uncomfortably cool to allow for body heat to warm it up. If you have any influence over the seating, remember audiences like lots of aisles and a back section should be roped off for stragglers and to move the audience up to the front. Guard your notes and visuals. Many well-meaning custodians or audience members have looked over a speaker's slides or notes and got them out of order at the last minute. Finally, lessen any barriers between you and the audience. Podiums and microphones are the worst offenders.

In a small boardroom try to stand to command attention. You may need a good excuse like a flip chart or visual, but you need to take control and keep it.

Language

We listen and learn visually more than verbally, so a good speaker must create effective 'word pictures' in the listeners mind. Because a speech isn't print, we must use simple, clear language — the old rule of journalism, 'one thought — one sentence' applies to speeches as well. Audiences react well to rhetorical questions, anecdotes and examples. Males especially must remember to avoid sexist language.

Gestures

Gestures are a must. They don't have to be

They want a good presentation and will meet you half way.

Audiences expect polish. Nobody will accept someone getting up and saying the old line, "unaccustomed as I am..." These days everyone's job is to get accustomed. Audiences have different listening and thinking styles. You'll soon be able to recognize the mover, the arranger, the visionary and the people-relater and use appropriate bridges to each.

The audience's natural state is boredom. They're used to passive entertainment on TV and at the movies, and you have to be able to break down that barrier. People have physical, mental and chemical distractions. If someone leaves the room it may be nature or a phone call — don't take it personally or let it throw you. All audiences respond more, to less. However long you are asked to speak, speak for 20% less and no one will ever complain. Finally, audiences need to know what to do next — clap, laugh, leave. Good speakers telegraph with body language and key words. Near the end of your speech, if you say "in conclusion" everyone will know to applaud at the next long pause. Take command of the room and the audience will do what you want them to do.

The Rule of 12

It may be an old salesman's rule, but it applies to speaking and presentations even more. You'll be judged on the first 12 steps you take, the first 12 words you say, and the first

12 inches from the top of your head down. Some call this the "take charge opening."

If you're being introduced, you're also being judged by your body language. Be alive and erect. Walk to the podium with determination, pause, make eye contact and start. You've arrived early and perhaps even practised walking to the lecturn and have rehearsed your visuals to ensure they are visible from all parts of the room.

When speaking it's useful to be able to vary the rate, pitch, tone and volume of your voice. Tape recording will hone this skill.

An effective public speaker is like the famous 'tiny time release pills'.

Little ideas stay with the audience, linger and even days later are released to provoke thought and action.

Articulation and pronunciation increase in importance with audience size. Some words get muffled at the back. One highly-underused verbal weapon is silence. In the right place it commands attention.

Ironically, speaking is a real work-out. The fittest of people need to be extra vigilant in their exercise to maintain a demanding speaking schedule. It's a high energy occupation and you need the reserve to turn on the "1000-watt light bulbs" behind your eyes to enervate a large group.

Recovering from Problems

Even with research, rehearsal and arriving early, there are bound to be problems. Half of what you have to fear is fear itself. This can be eliminated by remembering that no audience cares about the little mistakes. Small errors of grammar, ums, uhs and repetition aren't noticed in spoken communication. Don't get hung up on them and the listeners won't either.

The huge mistakes, a gravy boat in the lap, a lost speech or a preceding speaker who has stolen your thunder are big problems. Just remember what fabulous stories they'll make a year later and try to survive.

Cut your speech short if a large percentage of the group has been drinking; don't insult drunks. Assume your audience is conservative, so avoid risque jokes. Be human, especially about your own mistakes.

One of my most red-faced public moments came just a few months ago. After conducting seminars for over 600 clients I still managed to find an old-fashioned way to put my foot in my mouth.

At a public seminar in Toronto, participants were introducing themselves. One man said he represented company X. A thought flashed into my mind and I interrupted and told him how I had heard his counterpart from a similar company a week or so before on the CBC morning show. "He was awful," I said, "Just the perfect example of how not to handle a radio interview. He didn't have his facts at hand and had to ruffle papers to answer simple questions." The man asked how the rest of the interview had gone. "It didn't get any better I said. This guy really let his company down by not being a good spokesperson."

The man interrupted, "Before you go any further, that was me. I had to fill in at the last minute for my colleague from the sister company."

After the gales of laughter trailed off and I had sputtered out some vague apology, the man was kind enough to offer that my comments were accurate enough and that's why he was taking the seminar. ✍

*Allan Bonner, a frequent contributor to **bout de papier** on communications issues, is President of W. Allan Bonner & Associates, the Toronto-based communications company which specializes in Executive training. He recently trained over 400 senior military*

officers at 16 Canadian Forces Bases across Canada and in Ottawa.

Further Help

In addition to Bedrosian's book, Wiley publishers had a large number of self-help business books and audio cassettes. Even more than the average book, the cassettes are junior level with only one or two good ideas per side. But if you're in a car and they're deductible, they pass the time. Herman Holtz is a writing machine on this topic, but I suspect there's some overlap in all his similar books. One as a sample would probably do.

Only one book on presentation skills is probably necessary as well. Irvine is full of good information, but hopelessly repetative and long.

Bedrosian, Margaret M., *Speak Like a Pro*, Wiley, Toronto, 1987.

Holtz, Herman, *Speaking for Profit*, Wiley, Toronto, 1985.

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Smith, Terry, C., *Making Successful Presentations*, Wiley, Toronto, 1984.

Spinrad & Spinrad, *Speaker's Lifetime Library*, Prentice Hall, 1979.

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Property Management

The Press on Patronage and the Foreign Service

The following article, from the *Sudan Times*, Khartoum, was re-printed recently in the *American Foreign Service Journal*:

It is with interest that we note ... a perceived lack of strength in the ranks of the career diplomats in the Foreign Service. We note that as with other areas of life such as the media, the government is intent on fashioning institutions in its own image. Such narcissism is usually only found in the activities of dictatorial regimes. Perhaps the government's present flirtation with the idea of making political appointment to the career Foreign Service is an indication of more such actions to come. Certainly, in the field of foreign affairs the pros of making political appointees, especially to the post of ambassador, are likely to be outweighed by the cons.

Purely on the grounds of a stable approach to international matters, it is in the interest of the country to maintain a career diplomatic service. These people are functionaries that have been trained for certain activities in our embassies around the world. Their training and their adaptation to circumstances ... means that these career diplomats are part of a stable representation of this country in the world. Naturally it takes time and experience for a career diplomat to work his way up to the rank of ambassador, but it means that when the person achieves that rank, he is eminently qualified for the position. The adoption of political appointees could upset all of this by becoming an obstacle in the way of promotion for the career diplomats, and also because the appointees would be likely to upset matters due to a lack of understanding of the finer points of diplomacy and their lack of training and expertise. Diplomacy and ambassadorships ought to be a matter of vocation and not political appointment.

"...Their training and their adaptation to circumstances ... means that these career diplomats are part of a stable representation of this country in the world."

One wonders what kind of a mess the government could get itself into if it did start making political appointments. ... It is very likely that government interference with the career Foreign Service will lead to confusion and instability in the image that this country presents to the world through its embassies and ambassadors. Seeing as how the diplomats have objected so strongly to suggestions

of political appointees in the past, they are unlikely to be willing collaborators in any such scheme if it were to be introduced in the future. The diplomats are likely to use everything within their power to hinder the introduction and to make such appointments untenable if they are ever made.

Sudan, like other Third World countries, spends a lot of finance on the training of government officials, and the Foreign Service is no exception. It appears wasteful to allocate such scarce financial resources and then not utilize such trained personnel when they become available. On the financial side, the making of political appointments by the government could prove self-defeating in the long run. Does the government really intend to squander part of the country's resources?

It is undoubtedly in the interest of the country that the Foreign Service should remain a career service, and the government will do well to heed this advice.

In its April 24 edition, the *Toronto Sunday Star* explored some of the same themes:

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who last week told newspaper publishers he'd had a bum rap from their reporters on his patronage record, has some opportunities to prove it.

A number of juicy appointments will have to be made shortly.

Lucien Bouchard, his old friend and ambassador to France until his recent cabinet appointment, was a Mulroney patronage choice, and the career diplomats will be watching to see who gets Paris this time.

Stephen Lewis, the former Ontario NDP leader, was an early and highly advertised Mulroney appointment as ambassador to the United Nations. Now he's headed for a teaching job at the University of Toronto.

Roy McMurtry, former attorney-general of Ontario, is expected to leave London in August after a stint as high commissioner, but it has been a long time since any non-political figure has held that post.

Allan Gotlieb, a fixture in Washington as ambassador since 1981, has had an unusually long run and is expected home within months, possibly to become head of Ottawa's troubled National Arts Centre and perhaps a university.

Another professional diplomat, Barry Steers, has been ambassador to Tokyo for nearly eight years and is expected to be moved this year.

With an election campaign likely coming, Mulroney can be expected to be extremely careful about putting more old buddies in high places — not least because it didn't always work well.

Departmental Personnel Policy

In his column of April 28, Frank Howard of the *Ottawa Citizen* published excerpts of a telex emanating from the Embassy in Bonn:

According to a document being circulated among the Canadian diplomatic corps here and abroad, foreign service officers are in the dumps because of departmental personnel policy.

The document, designated "confidential" and purporting to have originated with the "officers of Embassy Bonn" is in the form of a telex addressed to the three deputy ministers in the External portfolio and other departmental brass. The distribution list also includes missions in London, Paris, Rome, Washington and Tokyo. ...

The document, a mixture of cable-ese and rotund rhetoric, is a lengthy critique of a recent statement from headquarters on promotions and evaluations of staff.

The writer reports that "the officers of this mission have been both heartened and saddened" by the personnel policy statement from headquarters.

On the one hand they welcomed the statement because "for the first time in recent memory department has made effort to place promotion process in context, for those whose careers and lives are directly affected."

On the other hand, the anonymous writer claimed, the HQ statement "tended to side-step problems which many believe... are having an insidious effect on intellectual fabric and quality of Canadian Foreign Service."

"...the HQ statement tended to side-step problems which many believe... are having an insidious effect on intellectual fabric and quality of Canadian Foreign Service."

Among other things the Bonn telex attacks the "exhortation (from HQ) to avoid 'inflating' ratings".

The writer claims that "fact of matter is that foreign service is a high-performance career with close to majority of officers operating at a level above that established by formal selection standards for their grade."

The telex condemns the practice of assigning foreign service officers to positions rated lower than their rank.

This practice in effect is "deferring promotion possibilities to individuals by assignment downward: despite the theology, (we) would be surprised if there is any recorded case of an FS-2 being promoted to EX-1 on the basis of his performance in a FS-1 slot... particularly when assessments

of such performance are described by department as 'inflated'."

The telex also claimed that programs favoring women and other groups are resented:

"... There is also a special uneasiness about policies which have the effect of skewing impartiality of system through emphasis of group advantage over individual excellence — often described as "ensuring correct ratios" — established on basis of gender or some other non-performance criterion. Most officers understand need for equal opportunity programs but do not understand when one group is singled out for special treatment."

The author(s) also get in a grumble about the advantages (in career terms) of being in Ottawa:

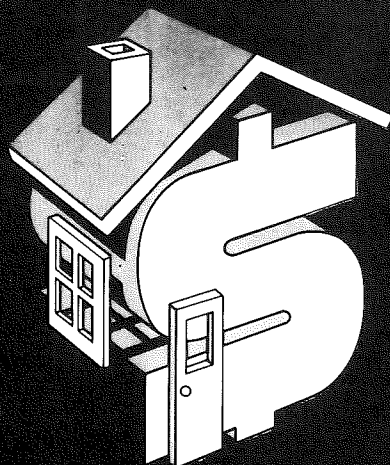
"Finally there is fact that promotion

chances appear enhanced at headquarters and there is what amounts to a 'promotion tax' for serving abroad. Folklore may exaggerate fact to some extent, but rating system's heavy emphasis on resource and program management (both commodities, in quantitative terms at least, more available at headquarters than abroad) is real. Perception that process comes before product as a criterion for promotion has thus damaged ability of foreign service to deliver the product, and foreign service officers, particularly in middle ranks, feel that they may be penalized for serving abroad."

The authors claim that the general lack of promotions is affecting morale: "To be informed, as a young, ambitious officer, that statistically speaking, one promotion in a three-decade career is not only possible, but probable is daunting: why bother?"

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Residential Inventories

by Ron Hill-Holland

A Problem? Your Problem?

"Residential inventory of contents and possessions." Do these words cause fear and trembling? Do they recall an agonizing experience that killed much of the excitement of going on a posting? Do they force you to think unpleasant thoughts about an almost impossible task to be carried out under conditions of extreme pressure of time?

What a task it is while attending staff briefing sessions: making decisions about long-term storage, surface cargo and air freight; renting the family house; juggling children's schedules, and not least of all, attending farewell parties when you're totally exhausted, only to be reminded by "friends" of all the things you have not yet done!

You will already have dealt with this significant problem in a previous year, or you will be facing it sometime in the future, perhaps even in the next few months.

Recent Related Research

Following an incident of "break and enter" into my home in December, 1986, resulting in a net loss of several thousand dollars, I initiated a process of research. The research was directed to the related topics of residential inventory processes; insurance property claims and settlements, and professional residential inventory services currently available for tenants and homeowners. Eventually the research led me to particular groups of people who could derive considerable benefit from such service, including rotational staff members of the Department of External Affairs, as well as other persons posted by C.I.D.A., the R.C.M.P. and D.N.D.

Who Loses?

From statistical information concerning claims and settlements related to loss of, or damage to, personal property of people on posting, it is apparent that such persons suffer needless financial losses. Such losses could be considerably reduced if not almost totally obliterated, since inadequate information and lack of specificity in inventory preparation are the two most common causes of claim settlement amounts being less than the claimant's expectations.

Further research reveals, in the case of

rotational staff (External Affairs), that inventory preparation prior to departure on posting is a priority that most frequently is delayed to the point of being a rush job. Often the task is left to the last minute because there are so many other pre-departure priorities to which one must give time and effort. Very few professional inventory services exist in Canada that can provide the kind of support service that can assist an individual or family going on posting. Most professional inventory services are concerned with commercial and professional premises, equipment and stock, and clearly indicate little or no interest in residential inventory preparation. The only other support service that can be related to residential inventory is that provided by photographers, either through single photographs or video-cassette tape. Unfortunately there is considerable potential for attempts to defraud the insurance industry through photographic procedures as they have been conducted to this time. According to the Insurance Bureau of Canada, it is necessary to back-up photographic material with a written inventory.

Is There a "Bottom Line"?

Let us consider the way in which people can maximize their insurance dollars. Surely people want to get the best value for their dollars invested in insurance coverage premiums. Surely they want to receive the maximum amount of dollars in settlement of claims. If there are means of facilitating maximization of insurance dollars then, such action could enhance people's property security factor not just for posting purposes, but also as a citizen in the community. For rotational staff there is an even greater advantage. The total or a portion of the fee for an appropriate professional inventory service is a reimbursable expense if used as part of the activities related to the new posting under incidentals relocation expenses pursuant to FSD 15.31.

The Research Process and Findings

The following is a review of the findings of the initial research.

The research was conducted through more than 100 personal interviews and 70 telephone interviews. Interviewees were insurance industry executives, brokers, agents and adjusters in Ontario. Interviews

were also held with representatives of the Insurance Bureau of Canada, the Insurance Crime Prevention Bureau, the Better Business Bureau, Crime Prevention Units of police departments, fire departments, security alarm system companies, property management companies, appraisal services and municipal, provincial and federal government personnel. Last, but not least, photographers who did photographic work for household contents insurance, were interviewed. This series of interviews reached across Canada's major cities and even into New York State.

The findings are summarized as follows:

- In the event of any claim, it is the responsibility of the claimant to prove ownership and values of lost, stolen or damaged items.
- The insurance industry's preferred criteria for proof of ownership are a written inventory and acceptable additional written documentation and photographic material.
- Less than 1% of Canadian families have prepared a residential inventory.
- Professional support services for residential inventory preparation are practically non-existent in North America.
- The potential for fraudulent claims is high when only photographic material is provided. (Photographic material alone does not constitute proof of ownership, although it can provide excellent identification material when used in conjunction with a written inventory.)
- A professionally prepared residential inventory with verifiable proof of ownership and specific identification will enable more efficient and effective settlement of claims.
- A well prepared and documented residential inventory will provide the insured party with a more realistic and accurate basis for comprehensive coverage and, serve as an indicator to appropriate upgrading of coverage.
- The insurance industry generally trusts its clients. However, the potential for criminal activity is high. The insurance industry is gradually tightening requirements for all insured parties since insurance operates on a principle of shared risk.
- A residential inventory is a part of a family's security process.

- Security alarm system companies readily acknowledge that home alarm systems only deter criminals, but can not prevent criminal activity.
- Professional photographers interviewed indicated their preference for aesthetic photography work rather than mere identification process photography of household contents.
- Professional photographers interviewed had not taken steps to incorporate security factors into their service and were not bonded.
- Some lawyers have said that well-prepared residential inventories could be beneficial in circumstances related to the division of family assets in separation/divorce cases or in the settling of wills and the assigning of specific items to beneficiaries.
- Travel agencies point out the risks of extended vacation and leaving the home and contents vulnerable to damage or loss.

What Can Be Done?

The first conclusion from the findings is that there is an increasing need for each home to have an inventory of its contents and personal effects. In the event of loss from any cause, natural or human, there would be available a professionally-acceptable means of communicating proof of ownership and value to the insurance industry. The second conclusion is that there is a need for the development and provision of professional support services to assist homeowners/tenants in the preparation of professional acceptable residential inventories.

Since each individual is at risk in terms of daily vulnerability of home contents and personal effects, it is becoming increasingly necessary to have a comprehensive residential inventory. Any person who is in a role that demands movement to various postings, national or international, is obviously at a much higher level of vulnerability to loss and/or damage to one's belongings, and therefore at greater risk for personal financial loss.

The "Bottom Line" is having a comprehensive, valid and reliable residential inventory will *save your dollars, reduce your trauma and maximize your insurance coverage* on any future claims for loss and/or damage to your home contents and personal possessions. 

Ron Hill-Holland of Hill-Holland Associates is a consultant in education and communication (see ad on p. 34)

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Spring in Fort Pearson

by Terry Jones

It may be true that Ottawa has but two seasons, winter and July. But Spring does come each year to Pearson's fort. I know for I have read the subtle signs. In Spring a young man's fancy turns to thoughts of posts, the middle aged to dreams of dalliance in secretariat pools. Promotion boards, their brows bedewed with sweat, publish their lists and Personnel girds up collective loins to cope with floods of grievances. Joggers give running gear its annual wash, to lend an unaccustomed freshness to the air. Then fashions change and winter's sombre hues give way to light safari suits. Result — pneumonia in May. External belts are tightened at the close of fiscal year, while wiley budget managers arrange to hide or pad resources "for next time". Then lunchtime strolls begin, sandwich in hand to watch the breaking ice — avoids the curse of cafeteria gossip: rumours are rife that only women can be heads of post, and senior management its jostling jowls hiding its smile inscrutable flies South to Caribbean conferences. Ah! Spring at Pearson. I missed the famous one of '86. I was in a meeting.

Terry Jones has served in Sydney, Port of Spain and Accra and Copenhagen, He is currently Deputy Director, South America Relations Division, External Affairs.

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*Outre-mer
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par Christine Manseau

Les directives du service extérieur

Le 7 janvier dernier débutaient les consultations relatives à la révision triannuelle des Directives sur le service extérieur au sein du Comité des directives sur le service extérieur du Conseil national mixte.

Les membres du comité dont Christine Manseau, Directeur exécutif, et Laurel Pardy, consultant retenue par l'APASE, se sont rencontrés au rythme d'une journée et demi par semaine pour revoir les dispositions des directives et y apporter des améliorations rencontrant les préoccupations exprimées par nos membres. Le Comité des directives du service extérieur de l'APASE sous la présidence de John Broadbent reçoit des rapports réguliers des progrès réalisés dans les consultations et décide du mandat de ses représentants au sein du comité.

Des propositions au chapitre de la relocalisation, des honoraires de vente d'immeuble et frais annexes, du logement, de moyens de transport à la mission, d'indemnités scolaires, de congés de service à l'extérieur avec option et de calcul des indemnités font présentement l'objet de discussions au sein du comité. L'augmentation annuelle afférant aux directives 56 et 58 et autres montants a déjà été approuvée et se reflètera dans le paiement de vos allocations à compter du 1^{er} avril 1988. Cette avril l'augmentation a été de 3,6 %.

Nous espérons terminer bientôt les consultations quoiqu'il appert définitivement que les nouvelles directives ne pourront probablement pas être en place pour la saison d'affectations qui vient. Des délais dans le début des consultations ainsi que le retard du Conseil du Trésor à décider de sa position quant à la « simplification » des directives en sont la cause.

Staff Quarters Space Guidelines

In March of 1988, a Departmental telex announced changes to the guidelines used to determine space requirements for Staff Quarters abroad.

At PAFSO's request, the Director General of the Physical Resources Bureau made a comprehensive presentation to the Foreign Service Directives Committee of the NJC on the subject. The reasons for these changes appear on the surface to be motivated by a desire to better manage the acquisition of Staff quarters based on certain factors: family size, recreation, safety and program requirements.

To that purpose, a profile of the members abroad as of May 1, 1987 had been established. It was interesting to note that the

majority of our membership overseas is single. A global profile of the currently owned accommodation showed as well that the majority of Staff Quarters can only accommodate single people.

The new guidelines provide for larger accommodations for all household sizes. The guidelines for non-program personnel have been increased substantially in order to eliminate a differential deemed too great. Ancillary space will not be used in the determination of the size of the accommodation. Both the post and the Department have the power to exercise discretion to increase the space requirements by up to 25% should the situation so require. The size of the accommodation being tied to salary, household size and program requirements, the likelihood of any officer paying more for the same size accommodation as non-program personnel would occupy is almost impossible.

The changes will be gradual, being implemented over a 16-year period. It would seem if well-managed, these changes will allow better inventory control, savings and accommodations befitting more the needs of the personnel abroad. Only time will tell.

Christine Manseau est le directeur exécutif de l'APASE.

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Moscow Despatches "Inside Cold War Russia", by John Watkins. Edited with an Introduction by Dean Beeby and William Kaplan — Published by J. Lorimer & Co., Toronto 1987.

Reviewed by Geoffrey Pearson

John Watkins was a diplomat/intellectual, as many of his colleagues in External Affairs were also. He was more intellectual than diplomat, a master of several languages and deeply versed in the cultures and history of Northern Europe. He was also the best kind of intellectual — open-minded, attentive to the views of others, scrupulous in his recording of events. His friends, of whom there were many, greatly valued his company and benefited from this generosity. His dispatches from Moscow, where he twice served, first as Chargé and then as Ambassador in the period 1948-56, were justly admired by his colleagues. The editors of this collection therefore deserve congratulations for their initiative in bringing some of them to the attention of a wider public.

The editors imply that they gained access to all of Watkins' despatches and letters from Moscow, which they say were in the hundreds. They here reprint extracts from about fifty of them, some no more than a paragraph. While they do not explain the criteria of selections used, this reader has to assume that, in part, they sought examples of material that would throw light on the revelation, long after Watkins' death in 1964, that he had been subject to blackmail by the KGB for homosexual activities. Thus about a third of the material relates to conversations with Soviet acquaintances and friends, some of whom later came to be identified (presumably by defectors) as KGB officers, or who, in retrospect, might be regarded as suspicious characters. One wonders whether a different approach, focussed for example on the nature of the USSR after Stalin's death, would not have led to a better appreciation both of the country and the diplomat.

Nevertheless, there is enough here to give the reader, especially one who has lived in that infuriating and fascinating environment, a sense of the enduring realities beneath the rubbish of cold war clichés. Watkins did more than speak Russian. He actually liked to speak to Russians, and he was a keen observer. Here he is trying to order a meal:

"The ... courtyard had a wide gravel walk all around it. A smaller square in the centre was filled with trees and shrubs tables were set under the trees and ... three or four rather slatternly Russian girls were serving meals in the courtyard from a makeshift

kitchen. What would I like to eat, one of them finally got around to enquiring without much interest. Something light, I said, perhaps sliced tomatoes. They had no tomatoes. An omelette perhaps? They had no omelette. What had they? They had only lamb ragout. Then, of course, I would like some ragout and beer. They had no beer. Just tea then. They had no tea. How about coffee? They had no coffee. Well, what had they? They had only lemon sok (a sweetish soft drink flavoured with lemon)".

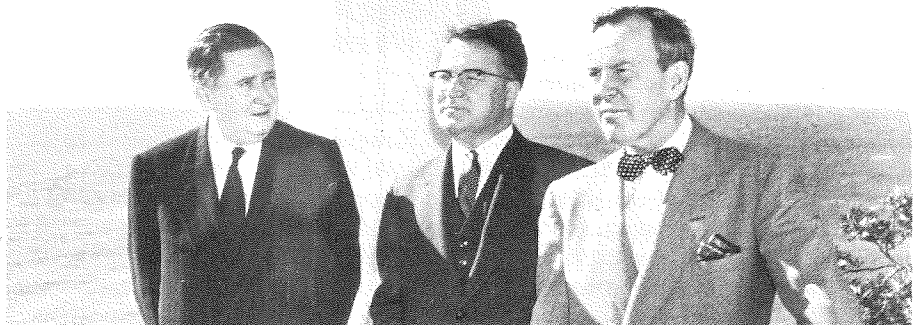
Watkins had total recall of conversations, an extremely valuable skill for a diplomat. Indeed, he must have spent hours writing his despatches, some of which took almost as long to read. I doubt if there exists anywhere a more complete portrait of life in the Soviet Union in the mid-fifties. He travelled widely, often alone, and the account here of a trip to Central Asia is of special interest. For one who travelled there 25 years later, it is astonishing how much freedom he was apparently given to mix with the locals. So much for the closed society!

Watkins was also a shrewd judge of the Soviet scene. This is a comment from his last despatch (unfortunately cut to a page by the editors):

"...One senses in the Russia of the 20th Congress a consciousness that the Soviet Union is emerging from a long, hard period of struggle and is now

realized that a more objective (in the Western sense) approach had to be introduced, and this could hardly be done without dismantling a large part of the intellectual scaffolding erected by Stalin. The degree of objectivity must have been, and must still be, a delicate question for the party leaders to resolve. To appear genuinely objective the attack on Stalin himself must be kept within bounds, and not become a personal vendetta as irrational as the myth itself...". Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!

But this book, and especially the long introduction and the editorial comments which introduce the despatches, is not really about the USSR seen through the eyes of a cultivated observer. It is about what appears in retrospect to be an elaborate attempt by the KGB to enmesh Watkins in a net of blackmail, or, as the editors put it, the despatches "chronicle Watkins' deepening involvement with two secret police operatives who eventually tried to blackmail him". Their purpose was "to bring him to the Soviet side", and "to ensure that Canadian policy accommodated Soviet goals". The editors quote at length the despatches which re-count Watkins' meetings with the "two secret police operatives" who, at the time, presented themselves as professors at the Institute of History, but who clearly also had high-level connections, a fact of which Watkins took advantage in making arrange-



L.B. Pearson, John Watkins and the Soviet Ambassador to Canada, on the Black Sea Shore, 1955.

facing up to the resultant responsibilities as well as opportunities. Amongst the responsibilities is the very real problem of dealing, for the first time in Russian history, with a largely literate population and an increasingly important elite in the bureaucracy, universities, institutes, research organizations and so on who could hardly be expected to pay more than cynical lip-service in the long run to the more obvious distortions and omissions of the official version of the Soviet history. To retain their respect and loyalty the Party no doubt

ments for the visit of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs in 1955.

The real identity of the two "professors" was apparently revealed in the early sixties by Soviet defectors to the United States, thus leading to the RCMP interrogation of Watkins in 1964 after his retirement (the editors say that they were not allowed access to "the bulk" of the record of this interrogation and had to rely on the account in John Sawatsky's book "For Services Rendered", published in 1982, which they say "has withstood numerous tests of accuracy", although based on unidentified sources).

They accept what they believe to be the conclusions of the police enquiry: (a) that Watkins was in fact subject to blackmail (although nothing in the despatches they quote provides strong evidence for this conclusion), but (b) that he was never disloyal.

No one need doubt that diplomats in the USSR are often subject to pressures, open or concealed, real or apparent, that can be turned to political advantage. Not all of these, perhaps not even most of them, are due to plots and conspiracies, whatever the spy thrillers may suggest. It is difficult and often impossible in these matters to distinguish between chance and purpose. We shall almost certainly never know for sure what happened to Watkins in Moscow. What we do know is that his reporting on the Soviet scene gave the Canadian government a penetrating insight into events at a critical time there, an accomplishment which his colleagues acknowledged and which will now, one hopes, achieve much wider recognition.

Geoffrey Pearson, Executive Director of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, was Canadian Ambassador to Moscow from 1980 to 1983.

My Grandfather's House: Scences of Childhood and Youth, by Charles Ritchie, Macmillan of Canada, 1987, 164 pp.

Reviewed by Marshall Conley

Reading a Charles Ritchie book is a romp through another time and another place. My Grandfather's House takes the reader on a passage through Ritchie's imaginative childhood and youth, and leaves one wondering how could any one person know such an odd assortment of characters.

In a series of witty, amusing, and sometimes sad essays the author examines the lives of a number of people who made up his everyday life as a youth. "Why should the famous be the only ones to be remembered?" he writes in the Introduction. Although these people may not be famous, certainly none of them could be called ordinary. This man who had such a fascinating career in Canada's diplomatic service had an equally fascinating upbringing.

To say that the people who surrounded the young Charles Ritchie were 'characters' is an understatement. Each chapter introduces us to another offbeat individual who, in some way or other, impacts on young Charles' life.

My Grandfather's House begins with Ritchie's regular visits to the Halifax home of his grandfather. Oh, how many of us wish

that our grandfathers could have been as colourful as his! Or perhaps they were but our telling of their stories fails in comparison to the amusing events of turn-of-the century garrison Halifax.

Ritchie's grandfather, in his words, was a Colonial. He belonged to the British Empire. He was British, but not English. Comfortable, but not ostentatious. He was, in fact, the archtypical relatively well-off Nova Scotian. Yet even in death at almost one hundred years of age his grandfather left a story to be told so many years later.

In Ritchie's words, "My grandfather never reached his hundredth year: he died ten days short of it. It was his impatience that killed him. Rather than waiting for help, he seized the heavy copper coal scuttle in his sitting-room and, in trying to put coal into the grate, he staggered, hit his head against the marble mantelpiece, and never recovered consciousness... On the day of my grandfather's death I was sent to the local cinema." And so the amazing litany of stories begins in the life of this fascinating Canadian.

Poor Molly Clarke. Perhaps many of us have seen her type. A poor Irish immigrant girl who enters into 'service'. At nineteen Molly came to Halifax to be Ritchie's governess. She was a natural story-teller, and in young Charles she found the perfect audience. His imagination flourished at her feet but she was gone in two years to a loveless marriage to a penniless lawyer.

*So many interesting characters
have touched Charles Ritchie's
life and they come to life with
his pen.*

However, nothing was simple in the life of Charles Ritchie. In 1912 his family moved to Vancouver, but with the outbreak of war his father joined the army and it was left for Mrs. Ritchie to pack the family up and move them back to Halifax. And Charles? Why not send him off to visit Molly who was living with her husband in Salmon Arm, British Columbia? We see the results of that loveless marriage and the penury in which Molly has found herself. As always, this chapter ends on an upbeat note. After Molly's death following the Second World War he received a bequest of a pair of Georgian silver candlesticks with the motto of her Irish family, "Courage prevails". That fitting epitaph for Molly is indicative of the chapters which follow. So many interesting characters have touched Charles Ritchie's life and they come to life with his pen.

Each chapter brings a fresh store and another 'character'. There is Uncle Charles who died during the First World War. Irina

the Russian emigre in the Paris of the thirties teaches an impressionable Ritchie French. Bimbash, his mother's older brother Harry Stewart. His mad cousin Gerald, his college friend Billy Coster who threw away his wealth in drink. All of these people and more are brought to life again with affection and wit.

It has been a long time since this reviewer could sit down on a rainy Sunday afternoon and be transported so easily to another time and another place. I heartily recommend this 'good read' to one and all.

Marshall Conley has lived in Nova Scotia since 1971 and teaches Canadian foreign policy and Nova Scotia politics at Acadia University.

Home from the Hill: A History of the Métis in Western Canada, by Don McLean. Publisher: Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research, Regina, 1987. 315 pages. \$12.95

Reviewed by David Kilgour

Few Canadians anywhere are aware that the prairies owe their existence as a part of Canada largely to the Métis and their leader Louis Riel. Largely by their efforts, it did not become another American state or a colony of Canada of the day, but instead an equal partner in Confederation. The birth of Western Canada is thus inextricably linked with the history of the Métis people. It was within the vast territories stretching from the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains that the Métis nation emerged. There it struggled against an aggressively advancing new civilization.

This story of the rise and fall of a proud and dynamic people against the socio-economic and political realities of the nineteenth and twentieth century Canada are the focus of *Home from the Hill — A History of the Métis in Western Canada*. The author depicts with verve and passion the Métis history from their beginnings in the fur trade to the present time and offers a uniquely native perspective of the events that led to their final desolation.

McLean traces both the European and Indian roots of the Métis in order to show the birth of the Métis. He follows its evolution into a distinct group conscious of its unique identity. In the words of the author, "Les Métis came into being as children of the fur trade, through passion and love, through economic expediency, and at times through the shameful exploitation of women as rewards for hard labour and objects of trade... They [the Métis] emerged as a brand new cultural, social and historical entity as a

direct result of the actions of the imperial powers of Europe engaged in the extraction of the fur staple in North America". The increasing population of these "very useful hands" was to the advantage of the Hudson's Bay and the North West Companies. The book outlines the role of these bilingual and bicultural people in the history of the fur trade era in Rupert's Land as they became indispensable to fur traders as interpreters, clerks, canoe men, fur traders, packers and manual labourers.

The Métis first made a stand for their rights against the imposed foreign monopoly in the 1840's when they successfully challenged the Hudson's Bay Company trade and administrative monopoly in Red River. As a result of "Le commerce est libre" movement the Métis nation came into being. "The Métis emerged victorious in this struggle", McLean goes on, "and were therefore recognized as a courageous and dynamic force in the Canadian West — a force to be reckoned with". During the 1850-1870 period, the heyday of the Métis free trade and "a brief golden era" in their history, they lived a culturally rich life engaging in democratically run buffalo hunts conducted according to "the law of the prairie," that was so essential to their survival.

The purchase of Rupert's Land by the federal government in 1870 was done with the purpose of providing Central Canada with an agricultural colony and the markets for their products. The West was to be settled for the benefits of the Eastern elite, says McLean, and "not for that of the settlers and certainly not for the benefit of the people already living in the West". The Red River resistance is viewed by the author as "The first, but by no means the last confrontation between westerners and a federal government determined to go ahead with its policies irrespective of western discontent".

The chapters on the creation of Manitoba describe the Métis peoples' victory in both winning the West for Canada as well as ensuring that a new "postage stamp" province entered the Confederation with most of the rights that other provinces enjoyed. There was to be no room for the Métis and their leader in the new order. Louis Riel, who should have been the first premier of Manitoba was denied the promised amnesty and hounded into exile, and his people driven out of their homes. For example, the guaranteed land base of 1.4 million acres for the settlement of Métis land claims was circumvented by the issue of a "scrip" to Métis that could be quickly retrieved by land speculators.

The book describes how some federal government officials were involved in taking land ownership away from the Métis and

placing it into the hands of speculators who bought it for a fraction of its face value. "From the beginning speculators and bankers — not the Métis — were the real beneficiaries of the land grant carried out through the use of scrip". Over the years, the Métis of Red River saw their victory turning against them. The loss of their land through the sale of scrip and the bureaucratic and military harassment of the Métis eventually triggered their exodus from Red River.

McLean follows them westward to the communities they established in the remote regions of the North West Territories, the most important at St. Laurent on the South Saskatchewan River. Again for a brief time they continued to live in the old ways, hunting buffaloes, trapping and trading. Some subsistence farming began to play a role in their economy. As the years went by, and as many Manitoba Métis moved to live in the Territories, concern grew over their land entitlements. Officials insisted on surveying and dividing the North West Territories on the American square-lot pattern which bore no relation to the pattern of settlement that had already developed there: narrow river frontage lots. Threatened by the westward advance of agricultural civilization, the Métis had regularly petitioned Ottawa for a settlement of their land claims and for capital to help them join the new agricultural economy being established in the West.

Riel had never wanted an open military conflict; throughout the agitations, he expected negotiations. Despite the government officials in the North West pleading with the prime minister to negotiate, says McLean, the Prime Minister awaited the inevitable showdown.

Their pleas went unheard. The aggressive colonization policies begun in 1878 by John A. Macdonald's Conservative Government were taking shape. The west was to be settled at any price and the process had begun. The author presents a broad picture of the political struggle taking place in the North West in the 1870's and 1880's: land speculation taking place in the Prince Albert region where the CPR route was expected to run and a subsequent depression when the CPR moved the route 200 miles south; economic collapse of the CPR before its completion and the imminent political disaster of the Conservative Government. The author's attention focusses on the activities of

Lawrence Clarke, a chief factor for the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Carlton, a figure mostly ignored by other historians, who, according to the evidence accumulated by McLean, played a major role in provoking a military conflict between the Métis and the federal government to end the depression in the Prince Albert region. The conclusion of the author's evidence is that Lawrence Clarke was the government's 'agent provocateur' whose position and information could be used to initiate armed conflict in the West. For Macdonald, a small carefully controlled rebellion would provide the political capital to justify financial support for the bankrupt CPR. Riel had never wanted an open military conflict; throughout the agitations, he expected negotiations. Despite the government officials in the North West pleading with the prime minister to negotiate, says McLean, the Prime Minister awaited the inevitable showdown.

McLean admits that "it is unlikely that positive proof of a government conspiracy to create a rebellion in the West will ever be uncovered. However, he stresses that "the evidence presented here suggests that rebellion may have been fostered by the federal government, using Lawrence Clarke as an 'agent provocateur', as a means of making it politically possible to get further funding for the bankrupt CPR in 1885."

As a consequence of the Rebellion the traditional way of life for the Métis ended. Their nation was defeated, their leader executed, their homes burned and looted, their people dispersed. Central Canada's vision of opening of the West would carry the day.

The final chapter of this book, which is well worth reading, looks at the Métis in predominantly white society in the twentieth century where as McLean puts it: "[The Métis] poorly educated, poorly housed, plagued with poverty and related social disorders, they, along with other Natives, are still a marginalized people in the land that had once been their own". The author finishes on a more positive note, saying that there is cause for optimism. Genuine progress has been made at advancing the causes of the Native peoples. Negative stereotypes of the Native people will die out when education, job opportunities and health care will be provided to all Canadians; "Only then will the proud and resilient Métis people really be out of the wilderness — home from the hill."

David Kilgour is the Conservative Member of Parliament for Edmonton-Strathcona. A lawyer, he was first elected in 1979 and has been parliamentary secretary to several portfolios, including External Relations.

The Pugilist's Dilemma

A Aalto bombs again!!

LDC Liebnitz was reminiscing with his old friend Chief Inspector de Toombs about the ace logician's school days. "You wouldn't have believed the final exam," Liebnitz exclaimed.

"Our instructors' motto was 'Puzzle or Die' — and they meant it! Imagine yourself locked in a room completely bare except for six boxes piled in the northwest corner. The walls run exactly north-south and east-west; the north wall is green, the west wall red and the floor white. Each box is made of rigid steel and they are all exactly the same size, about 50 cm by 60 cm by 70 cm. (Let me draw you a picture of how they were stacked — three in the corner, then two to the east, then one to the east of that.) The boxes fit flat on the floor, flush with both walls and flush with each other — not so much as a hair's-width crack or overlapping edge anywhere. There's one small keyhole on the front (south) face of each box. From past experience, you know that turning the right key in a keyhole will cause the top face of that box to hinge open on a spring (unless there is another box on top — the springs aren't strong enough for that). Each face of each box is painted uniformly red, green or white. Of the faces you can see, all the south faces are white, all the top faces red and all the east faces green. Let me make you a little chart with that information filled in."

"Now comes the interesting part. Printed on another wall of the room is the following information:

1. The box that weighs the same as the three lightest boxes put together contains a time bomb that will go off in half an hour. To the east of the box with the red north face is a box containing a bomb that will go off if its box is moved more than 3 cm or so in any direction from its present position. Over the box with the white top face is a box containing a bomb that will go off if the box is opened.
2. Each of the six boxes has exactly two red faces, two green faces and two white faces. Five of the six (including #1, #3 and #6) are "regular" boxes, on which no two touching faces of the same box have the same colour; one box does not follow this rule. At the start, no face of a given colour is placed against a face, wall or floor of the same colour (e.g., no red face on one box is placed against a red face on another box, or against the red wall), and this rule must continue to be observed if you move the boxes around (or you will be shot).
3. Each box weighs an exact number of kilos (no fractions). In the order #1 to 6, each box except #1 weighs exactly two kilos more than the previous one. And the total weight of all six boxes is in the exact square of their average weight.
4. There are three kinds of locks and three kinds of keys. The locks

Box #	Colour of Each Face						Weight
	Top	Bottom	North	West	East	South	
1	red				green	white	
2						white	
3	red				green	white	
4						white	
5						white	
6	red				green	white	

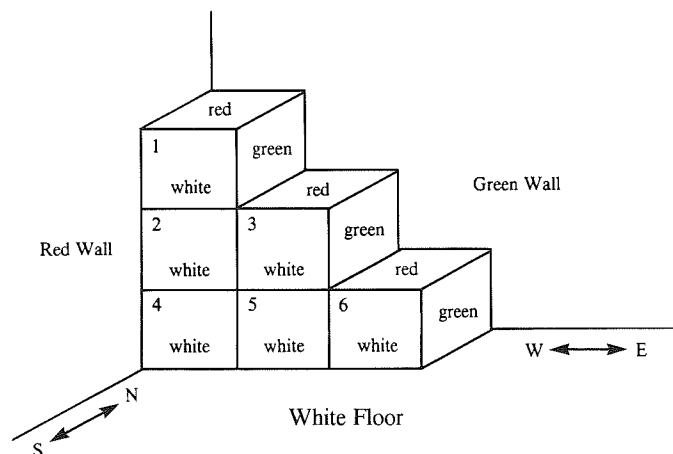
you can see on the south face of the boxes are Type A locks, and can be opened by any Type A key. The time bomb is defused by using a Type B key on a Type B lock inside the box — no amount of fiddling by hand will help you with this bomb, and there is no way at all for you to defuse the other two. Finally, some of the boxes are joined rigidly together or fixed to the walls with a Type C lock, which can be opened with any Type C key; once this has been unlocked, the box will move freely.

5. Be careful — *any* key will fit into any lock, but *no* key can be pulled out again. The right kind of key can be used to lock and unlock a given lock as often as you want, while if you put the wrong kind of key in a lock (e.g., a Type A key in a Type B lock) it won't turn the lock at all, but in *neither* case will the key come out of the keyhole once it is inserted.
6. The boxes are so slippery on all faces that it is almost impossible to get a grip on them. As they are at the start, in order to lift a box, you must get your hands *under* it, and in order to slide it sideways, you must get your hand directly *behind* it — that is, if you want to shift a box to the *east*, your hand must be on the *west* face of the box, not merely trying to push eastward along the south face or the top.
7. To the east of the box with a red west face is a box containing one Type A and two Type C keys. The box that is exactly 7 times the weight of the lightest box is already unlocked and contains a Type B key. The "irregular" box contains a Type A key and is locked to the box to its east (the "C" keyhole is inside the irregular box). The box to the west of the box with the green top face is locked to the north wall.

"Well, there I was, de Toombs. I had absolutely nothing to work with but my bare hands and a single Type A key they had given me at the door — a heavy steel thing far too thick for the cracks between and around the boxes. I was wearing a rip-proof Teflon jumpsuit with no loose threads, and my hair had been cut short. They thought of everything. But I knew there had to be a way to find and defuse that time bomb without setting the other two off. And there was — although I had only seven seconds to spare when I defused it!!"

Can you repeat Liebnitz's graduation achievement, by completing the chart and listing the step-by-step process needed to get at and safely defuse the time bomb? Inspector de Toombs is still trying to get up the courage to ask how many failed the exam. Please send your answers to **bout de papier**. The first correctly drawn answer wins a book prize!

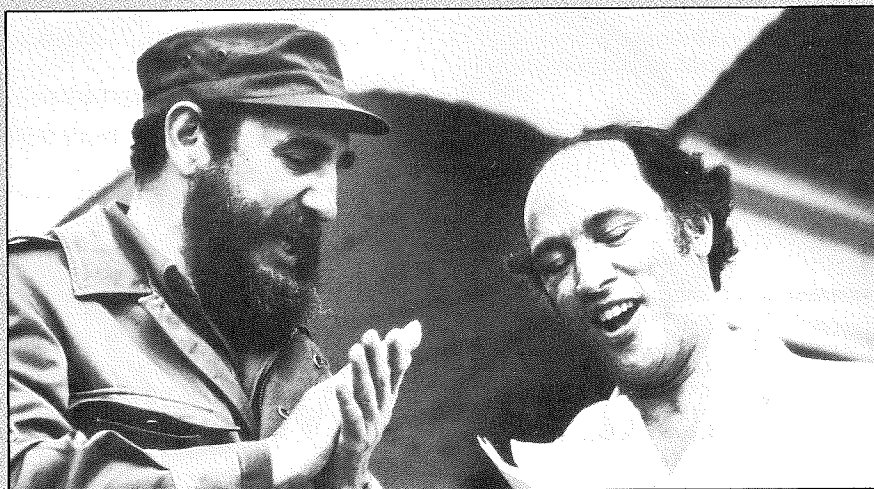
Born in pre-revolutionary Tannu Tuva and raised by Patagonian missionaries on the Zambesi, free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto now commutes between Hell (Norway) and Eternity (Quebec). None of these places is an island.





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CAPTION CONTEST



The Central News Ltd., Public Archives of Canada

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Export Program Division
Department of External Affairs

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WINNER OF AALTO PUZZLE:

Edwina Kohler, Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, Thailand

The Turk is in Trouble (Again)!!

Answers to Puzzle Vol. 5 #4

- (a) ALCATRAZ (Lancaster: *Birdman of Alcatraz* 1962; Capone did time there for tax evasion in the 1930s)
- (b) ATLANTIS (first mention in Plato; Santorini may be what's left after volcanic explosion c1500 BC)
- (c) AVALON (Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* 1485: Avalon was where the king was taken, mortally wounded)
- (d) BIKINI Atoll (the first peacetime nuclear tests 1946; Andress wore the first bikini in a major movie, *Dr No* 1962)
- (e) CAPE BRETON (Bell's "Silver Dart" was the first Canadian heavier-than-air craft to fly, Bras D'or 1909)
- (f) CEYLON (former Serendip, former capital Kandy)
- (g) CORSICA (Napoleon born 1769; nationality of the only Mrs. Bond — cf *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* 1963)
- (h) CRETE (Icarus took off from there; it was captured by German airborne troops in 1941)

- (i) CUBA (Columbus 1492, Kennedy: Bay of Pigs 1961)
- (j) DÉVIL'S Island (Dreyfus 1895, McQueen: *Papillon* 1973)
- (k) EASTER (Heyerdahl: *Aku-Aku* 1958; "big heads" of stone)
- (l) GALAPAGOS (Darwin studied them there in 1835)
- (m) HOKKAIDO (Winter Olympics in Sapporo)
- (n) IRELAND (colours of allegiance)
- (o) KEY LARGO (Bogart 1948; largest of the Florida Keys)
- (p) KRAKATOA (volcanic explosion was heard 2200 miles away)
- (q) Islands of LANGERHANS (found in the pancreas)
- (r) MALTA (the Knights of St John or Hospitallers once held Malta in fief; Hammett: *The Maltese Falcon* 1929)
- (s) MALVINAS (Falklands War 1982)
- (t) MAN (Manx cats)
- (u) MAURITIUS (extinct by 1681, a little later on Reunion)
- (v) NEWFOUNDLAND (Leif arrived c1000; the "Newfie Bullet")
- (w) PITCAIRN (where Fletcher Christian's party settled)
- (x) ROBBEN (prison island off South Africa)
- (y) SHETLAND (ponies)
- (z) SUMATRA ("the Giant Rat of Sumatra" cf *The Adventure of the Sussex Vampire*; tidal waves from Krakatoa explosion)
- (aa) TAHITI (1788, just before the mutiny on the *Bounty*)
- (bb) TASMANIA (once Van Diemen's Land; Tasmanian devils)
- (cc) TIERRA DEL FUEGO (Magellan named it 1520; the Beagle Channel Treaty 1985, mediated by the Pope)
- (dd) TREASURE (*Treasure Island*, Robert Louis Stevenson 1883)
- (ee) VANCOUVER (charted by Juan de Fuca 1592 and Cook 1778)
- (ff) ZEALAND (Copenhagen is on Zealand or Sjaelland; Tasman discovered New Zealand 1642)

Deciphered Text

"HE (MINUS R) IS AN ISLAND, SAYS DONNE; IF NOT, WHAT IS HE?" The quote from John Donne to which this refers is "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main." NO MAN is NORMAN minus an "r," CONTINE is a piece of CONTINENT; and MA is a part of MAIN — so the villain is NORMAN MACONTINE. No other name fits as well.

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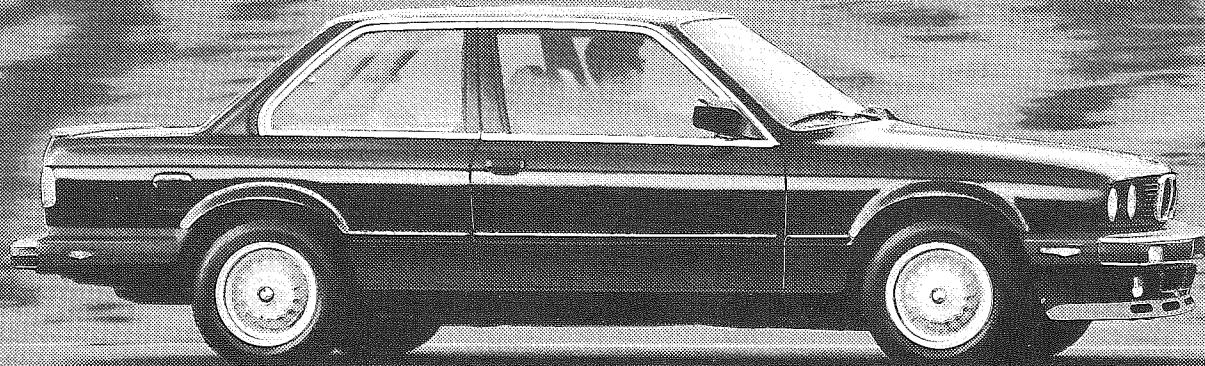
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